THE CONGRESS AND THE REGIONAL POLITICS IN TAMILNADU: A.D.1953-A.D.1967

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I hereby state that the thesis for the Ph.D. Degree on "THE CONGRESS AND THE REGIONAL POLITICS IN TAMILNADU: A.D.1953-A.D.1967" is my original and independent work. It has not previously Formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma, associateship, fellowship or any other similar title.

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(K.JOHN KUMAR)

PREFACE

PREFACE

This is a study in the modern political history of Tamilnadu. The study entitled "**THE CONGRESS AND THE REGIONAL POLITICS IN TAMILNADU: 1953 A.D. TO A.D.1967**" is a historical analysis of the part played by the Congress Party and the regional political parties in the politics of Tamilnadu. The purpose of this Research is to bring out the nationalistic attitude of the Congress in almost every issue that affected Tamilnadu and the parochial tendencies of the regional parties in the same issues. A sincere attempt is made to know the reason for the activities of these parties. Strictly speaking the period covered is 14 years from the creation of Andhra as a separate State from the Madras State and end of Congress rule in the State. An attempt is made to Know the socio-political reasons for the decline of nationalistic policies in Tamilnadu.

The period covered was a very crucial time for the State of Tamilnadu because of Some events which led to the growth of regional parties in the State. This research also portrays the relentless fight waged by the national minded leaders against the separatists and narrow minded people and organisations. The most prominent national leader of this period was K,Kamaraj who was the Chief Minister of the State for more than 9 years. C.Rajagopalachari or Rajaji was also a national leader but unfortunately due to his Enemity towards Congress and Kamaraj, he joined hands with the regional political party, Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam(D.M.K.). This regional party was founded by C.N.Annaduraj who broke away from E.V.Ramasami's(E.V.R.) Dravida Kazhagam in 1949.

In the course of narrating events and trends utmost care has been taken to give a vivid account of the services rendered by the Congress Government to the people of

Tamilnadu and the activities and growth of the opposition party the D.M.K. This study Will be beneficial to the researchers of the contemporary political history of the State. Politicians can also use the study to shape their ideologies and political activities.

I record my sincere thanks to my supervisor Dr.N.Arunachalam, Dean of Arts (Retd.), St.Joseph's College, Tiruchirappalli for his invaluable guidance and help in the successful completion of this research work. He instilled in me the spirit of hard work. His wide experience, critical comments and directions on methodology helped me to make this work analytical and comprehensive.

My deep sense of gratitude goes to the Management the Principal of Bishop Heber College, Tiruchi for permitting and encouraging me to undertake this research Work. I extend my thanks to the Principal, Head of the Department of History and his colleagues of St. Joseph's College for their valuable assistance and goodwill.

I convey my thanks to the officials of Tamilnadu Archives, Chennai, Libraries including Connemara Library,Chennai, Bishop Heber College Library and the Bharathidasan University Library, Tiruchi for permitting me to refer to their source materials. A special word of 'Thanks' to Thi.Ma.Saravanan who maintains a private Library with valuable works in his home. This knowledgeable and hardworking friend and his wife helped me to collect useful information from their collections. I also thank Thanga Jayaraman, Lecturer (S.G), Government Arts College, Mannargudi for encouraging and supplying useful material.

I am indebted to my mother for her blessings and my wife,daughter and son for their constant encouragement and assistance.

I am grateful to N.Sethuraman, a research scholar in the Bharathidasan University,

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ABBREVIATIONS

A.I.C.C.	-	All India Congress Committee
Chancellor	-	Governor of the State
C.M.	-	Chief Minister
Congress	-	Indian National Congress
D.C.C.	-	District Congress Committee
D.D.C.	-	District Development Council
D.M.K.	-	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
D.P.I.	-	Directorate of Public Instructions
E.V.R.	-	E.V.Ramasami or Periyar
G.O.	-	Government Order
H.R. & C. E.	-	Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowment
I.N.A.	-	Indian National Army of Subas Chandra Bose
K.M.P.	-	Kissan Mazdoor Praja Party
Ma.Po.Si.	-	Ma.Po.Sivagnanam
M.L.A.	-	Member of Legislative Assembly
M.P.	-	Member of Parliament
M.P.C.C.	-	Madras Provincial Congress Committee

P.M	-	Prime Minister
P.C.C.	–	Pradesh Congress Committee
P.S.P.	-	Praja Socialist Party
P.U.	-	Panchayat Union
P.U.C.	-	Pre-University Course
Rajaji	-	C.R.Rajagopalachari
R.E.C.	-	Regional Engineering College
R.D.O.	-	Revenue Divisional Officer
Thasildhar	-	Head of the Taluk(Revenue Administrative Unit)
Thiru.Vi.Ka.	-	Thiru.V.Kalyanasundaram)
T.N.C.C.	-	Tamilnadu Congress Committee
V.C.	-	Vice-Chancellor
Vinobhaji	-	Acharya Vinobha Bhave
V.O.C.	-	V.O.Chidambaram Pillai
V.V.V.S.Iyer	-	V.V.Subramaniya Iyer
Zamindhar	-	Pre-Independence Revenue Official

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

SCOPE AND PURPOSE

Tamilnadu was almost a nation on its own.[1] The idea of a National Organisation emerged here a year before the establishment of the Indian National Congress in 1885.[2] Earlier some national organizations like the Theosophical society, National Mohamedan Association were also organized in this state. People like Mr.Ananda Charlu and Mr.N.Sivasami Iyer advocated the creation of an All India Organization, which marked the beginning of more positive developments in the political scene.[3] The national feeling was so high that the leaders like Mr.P.Anandacharlu, Mr.P.Rangiah Naidu and Mr.S.Subramaniya Iyer who had attended the first session of the Indian National Congress paved the way for the conduct of the third session in 1887 at Madras.[4]

To Some Dravidians, especially for the upper caste Hindus, the Congress Party appeared a taboo. The reason for the hatred was communal. They hated this organization because it was controlled by the Brahmins.[5] They formed several organizations like the South Indian Liberal Federation, Madras Dravidian Association, the South Indian People's Association and

finally ended up with the Justice Party. This Party demanded communal electorates and communal representation in public services, whereas the Congress was taking sincere efforts to develop the feeling of nationalism.

This contradictory politics continued during the first half of the twentieth century in the State of Tamilnadu. In consequence of the formation of the Indian National Congress and the Justice Party the political trends in Tamilnadu began to assume a definite shape. [6] The Congress party's demand for political independence did not attract the leaders and followers of Justice Party. This difference of views led both the parties into ideological conflict. The result was the weakening of nationalist tendency among the people of Tamilnadu.

The trend continued even after independence but for different reasons. The Congress Party continued its ideology of creating a strong Nation. These nation building activities were politically challenged by new political outfits. A new political Party called Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (D.M.K.) a splinter group of Dravida Kazhagam (D.K.) was formed in 1949, partly because of Mr.C.N.Annadurai's differences with Mr.E.V.Ramasamy Naicker and partly because of his political ambitions.[7] The legacy of the Justice Party was carried on by this new party, which propagated separatism instead of

Nationalism. The founder of DMK, Mr.C.N.Annadurai, was a Justice Party candidate in the Madras Municipal Corporation council election and their leader Mr.E.V.R. was also in Justice Party and later changed its name. Time and again they declared that their policy was to create a Dravidanadu (roughly the Southern Part of India) and ideologically clashed with the Congress Party, *which stood for* Nation*alism.*

Apart from the separatist policy, the DMK posed itself as a guardian of Tamil language. Whenever there was a political necessity it raised this language issue and then forget it for sometime. The members easily forgot or hide the fact that the respected leaders of Justice Party always spoke in English and Tamil, while the Congress leaders of Tamilnadu used only Tamil for their public speech. The top Congress leaders like Mr.V.O.C, Thiru.Vi.Ka, V.V.S.Iyer, Namakkal Ramalingam etc., have contributed a lot for Tamil. In spite of their love for Tamil the Congressmen were Nationalists. Making Tamil the state's official language, introducing Tamil Medium in colleges, granting stipend for Tamil medium students, publishing Tamil lexicon aid text books, appointing a Tamil Scholar T.P.Meenakshi Sundaram as the first Vice-Chancellor of Madurai University, passing a resolution to name the state as Tamilnadu, unveiling the statue of Thiruvalluvar (a great Tamil Scholar) were some of the achievements of the Congressmen to

promote the Tamil Language. Their love for the language did not disturb their feeling for an integrated India.

The post Independence India saw the birth of new political parties. The DMK for record purpose gave up its antagonism to nationalism. But it is evident that it did not really believe in nationalism. [8] In the free India the Congress Party had great National Leaders like Mr.Rajaji and Mr.Kamaraj. Winning elections till 1962 (third General election) was not a great difficult for them, in spite of their inner conflict. The leaving of Mr.Rajaji from the Congress also did not affect their electoral prospects immediately. In the long run people wanted a change of Government due to various developments under the Congress Governments. The policy of the centre (for example the language policy) also affected the politics in Tamilnadu. Except for the Congress, one has to reiterate there was no other party, which had participated in the struggle for freedom. [9] The organizational weakness of Congress was taken full advantage of by D.M.K..

Mr.Kamaraj, who took over the administration from Mr.Rajajai in 1954, gave an excellent administration to the State. His Government with a small cabinet of 8 or 9 became a model for the entire nation. The way in which Five Year Plans were implemented in Tamilnadu is appreciated even

today. More number of heavy industries, dams, electricity generating projects, support for agriculture, education etc., were the achievements of the Congress Government under Kamaraj. But these things did not stop the growth of a separatist party (Officially till 1963) DMK to come to power.

The present study is an analytical historical study of the growth regionalism and the decline of the nationalism in Tamilnadu. This study discusses the background of the Congress Party, their rule in early years of independence, the creation of Andhra, re-entry and exit of Mr.Rajaji, Kamaraj's Chief Ministership, the foundation and growth of the separatist political Party DMK, elevation of Mr.Kamaraj to the national politics and decline of the Congress party. To have a comprehensive view of the period from 1953-1967, the Telugu peoples agitation for a separate state for them, ill feeling created due to misunderstanding between the Telugus and Congress in Tamilnadu, Rajaji's educational policy, Kamaraj's contribution to education along with other improvements in the State have also been discussed in detail. The foundation of DMK in 1949 after leaving from D.K., its various agitations, propaganda, slow growth, capture of Madras Municipal Corporation as a fore runner to their victory in 1967 election, their anti-Hindi agitation and formation of a formidable alliance compromising on their basic principles have been discussed comprehensively.

Accessible sources were used to collect data for this work. Both primary and secondary sources were thoroughly analysed to bring out the fact of the decline of the Congress in Tamilnadu and also the growth of a regional party . A few published works worth mentioning including the latest works connected with the period have been utilised to bring out the actual reason for the change of mind among the people.

PREVIOUS STUDIES

The South Indian politics, especially the politics of Tamilnadu attracted many scholars. Both Indian and Foreign Scholars have done enormous research in this area. The Congress, the only national party in this part of the country for many long years was opposed by some regional parties and organizations at different periods of time. The Politics which also affected the society, has been studied in detail by many scholars. The published works of the scholars supply lot of materials for a work, of this nature.

The attempt made by foreign scholars in this area to know the politics of Tamilnadu is worth mentioning. Mr.David Arnold, in his study, Nationalism and Regional Politics: Tamilnadu, India 1920-1937 (1973) has analysed the political situation of Tamilnadu up to 1937. He made earnest attempt to discuss the conflict of Congress with regional parties and the

character of the national party. Christopher John Baker's, The Politics of South India, 1920-1937 (1976) was an attempt to study the modern political History of South India. It examined the political changes in the Madras State especially the rivalry between the Congress and the Justice Party. Washbrook's, The Emergence of Provincial Politics: The Madras Presidency 1870-1920 is a work worth mentioning to understand the Regional Politics of Tamilnadu.

A.Ramasami's 'Tamil Nattil Gandhi' gives information on Gandhi's visit and the politics of the state. Annual Reports of the Indian National Congress supply useful information. Ma.Po.Sivgnanam's Enathu Porattam (1974) discusses the actual rivalry between Rajaji and Kamaraj and also the maneuverings of the D.M.K. party in Tamilnadu Politics in detail. Prof.K.Rajayyan's History of Tamilnadu, 1565-1982 (1982) speaks about Congress administration, anti - Hindi agitation, Tamil Integration movement and the emergence of D.M.K. in Tamilnadu in detail. P.C.Ganesan's Bharatha Perunthalaivar Kamaraj (1975) in Tamil gives almost first hand information.

Such other good works as Muruga Dhanuskodi's Kamarajar Charitram (1975), Aladi Aruna's Kamarajar Oru Vazhikkatti (2002), N.N.Kalaimani's "Desiya Thalaivar Kamarajar are good works in Tamil and useful for the

Research work undertaken. M.Namasivayam's Kamaraj Varsalaru (1963) is a good work and M.Karunanithi's (Nenjukku Neethi (1994) gives DMK's point of view on politics and M.Balasundaram's Kamaraj and His Secrets of Success is worth mentioning here for its valuable information about the Regional Politics and the Congress.

The Contribution of S.Lalitha Lakshmi through her work. Kamaraj The Administrator (1981) is a very useful document. Mr.M.S.Muthusamy's K.Kamaraj A Socio Political Study (1984) gives meaningful information about the social setting in which the Congress played politics with the Regional parties. The role played by the Tamilnadu Congress leader in National politics was excellently analysed by Mr.Michael Brecher in his 'Succession of India: A study in Decision Making (1966).

The Primary sources for the research work were mainly archival in nature. The Government orders, instructions issued to the Government secretaries, collectors and Police, Debates in the State Legislature were all very useful to scientifically analyze the politics of the state especially the decline of the national party, the Congress and the growth of Regional Party. The State Administration Reports, the Madras Information have given the actual fact of happenings in the State.

The various acts passed by the Government in different years for different purposes are more useful not only to know the provisions of the acts, but also for the background for enacting such acts. Budget memorandums presented to the State Legislative Assembly by the Government at different times help us to know the principles of the ruling party, the Congress.

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

As already mentioned, the sources available for this period of research are plenty. Primary data for the present work have been collected from the Tamilnadu Archives and Historical Centre, Chennai, National Archives of India, New Delhi, Legislative Library, Connemara Public Library, chennai, Madras University Library, Marai Malai Adigal Library, Chennai, Kamaraj Memoraial House, Chennai, Madurai Kamaraj University Library, District Central Library, Tiruchi, the Private Library of Mr.Thi.Ma.Saravanan, Tiruchi, Bishop Heber College Library, Tiruchi and the Bharathidasan University Library, Tiruchi.

The Newspapers and periodicals supply meaningful and useful information for the thesis. English Newspapers such as The Hindu, The Mail, The Indian Express (The New Indian Express) Times of India and Economist

and weeklies such as the Dravidamani, Dravida Nadu, Thannatchi, Thambi, Pormurasu, Thani Arasu, Makkalatchi, Sengol Samaran, Samaneedhi, Kudiyarasu, Boat Mail, Thamarai, Thiyagabhoomi, Manram, Thendral, Tamilarasu, Dravida Nadu, Kataka, Kumaran, and fortnightlies such as Periyarism, Mulakkam, Kumaran, Thenaruvi, Santhi, Uremai Murasu (monthly) and Ananthi (Monthly) supply needed materials Tamil Newspapers such as Nathigam, Namnadu, Malaimani, Murasoli, Veduthalai, Navamani, Dinathanthi, Malaimurasu, Kuthusi and Nava India contribute useful information on the Congress and the Regional politics in Tamilnadu.

ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis, after a thorough analytical work has been arranged into ten chapters for better understanding of the politics of this period (1953-1967)

The First Chapter, which is an introduction part of the thesis, gives the scope and purpose of this research work, previous work done on the related area of research, sources of information, organization of thesis and the actual political background of the State.

The Second Chapter, in a detailed manner investigates the politics in the Madras Presidency. The creation of national organization was countered

by the Anti-Brahmin organization and movements. The decline of Justice Party in 1937, Rajaji's Ministry, Government after Independence are all discussed in this chapter.

The Third Chapter touches upon the creation of Andhra State in 1953 in detail. The reasons for the division of the state, the problem faced by the Congress due to agitation for a new state the role of Rajaji and Nehru have been discussed in this Chapter. The emergence of Mr.Kamaraj as the Chief Minister of the State is also discussed, here.

The Fourth Chapter focuses on the exit of Mr.Rajaji and the emergence of Mr.Kamaraj as the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu.

The Fifth Chapter describes Kamaraj as a Man of the People. His election as the Chief Minister was welcomed by the people and in spite of many obstacles he achieved the maximum for the people.

The Sixth Chapter describes the emergence of Sub-nationalism and the Congress. The Second general election, which gave indications and the third election, which confirmed the growth of sub-nationalism have been discussed. Muthugulatur violence, which went against the Congress party has bee

discussed in detail. The split in DMK has been analysed in this chapter. The various developmental activities of the Congress Government has also been mentioned here.

The Seventh Chapter is an analysis of the achievement of the Congress Government in various fields. Their achievements did not help them to gain votes in the election. There is no relation between achievements and support by the people in the from of votes.

The Eighth Chapter is about the achievements of the Congress government in various fields.

The Ninth Chapter gives a vivid picture of the elevation of Kamaraj as a national leader and the debacle of the Congress in the 1967 elections. The need for the resignation of Kamaraj, his involvement at National Level Politics, neglect of the Congress organization, anti-Hindi agitation and scar city of food grains in the state have been discussed in this chapter.

The last Chapter is the conclusion. The study is carefully analysed, based on the facts some remarks, suggestions, criticism and reason for Congress defeat have been made.

THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

As already mentioned the national level organisation called the Congress was formed in India by the elite of Madras who became part of this organization. In the first conference of the Congress at Bombay the participation from the Madras State was nearly one third out of the total delegates of 72 members. In the Second annual session the number of delegates from the state doubled (the number of delegated were 47[10] When the Third annual session was hosted by Tamilnadu, more than fifty percent of the delegates were from the state out of the total delegates of 607.[11]

Moreover the Madras State Congressmen had the great honour of moving the 'First Resolution' of the Indian National Congress at Bombay. Mr.S.Subramani Iyer, the founder of The Hindu had the honour of moving the first resolution of the Congress.[12] The trend continued and the enthusiasm shown by the Madras Congressmen was ever ending. For the 1906 Calcutta session, 221 delegates were sent by the State Congress.

The Brahmins who constituted a very negligible percentage in the total population of the state were highly educated and that helped them to dominate not only in the government offices, educational institutes and courts but also the Congress. The non – Brahmins called Congress as 'Brahmin Congress'

because of its domination by the Brahmins.[13] These advantages helped them dominate the public life.[14] After Mrs. Annie Besant, of Theosophical Society joined the Congress in 1914, the Home Rule movement attracted Brahmins towards the movement. [15] As mentioned earlier a non – Brahmin organization called South Indian People's Association was formed. Few more such organization, like the Madras Dravidian Association headed by the Raja of Panagal, Dr.T.M.Nair as vice president and Mr.C.Natesa Muthaliar as secretary were also formed.[16]

The British Government, which was opposed to the activities of the Congress, encouraged the non-Brahmins for their advantage. Alexander Cardew, a British civil servant and member of the executive council by following the British Policy of subverting the Congressmen, gave permission to Government servants to involve in politics. This decision helped the non Brahmins to actively engage in politics against the Congress. Thus, these non-brahmins who now came under the political banner, the Justice Party in the name of promoting non-Brahmin interests, opposed Congress with an active support from the British.

However, contradictory to the claims of Justice Party, the Congress had non Brahmin leaders like Mr.T.V.KalyanaSundara Mudaliar (Thiru.Vi.Ka)

P.Varadarajulu Naidu, Mr.E.V.Ramasami Naicker, Mr.C.N.Muthuranga Mudaliar and in later years Mr.K.Kamaraj etc. When the Congress took the decision to boycott elections held under the Government of India Act, 1919, the Justice Party got the opportunity to enter the election fray and run the Government till 1937. The power struggle in Tamilnadu Congress between Mr.Rajaji and Mr.S.Satyamurthi resulted in the emergence of Mr.Kamaraj as the President of T.N.C.C and he continued in that position till he became the Chief Minister of the State in 1954.

The Congress, which confronted the Justice Party entered the election arena in 1937 as per the decision of the all India Committee, which accepted the new Government of India Act, 1935. The election was held under this Act and the Justice Party crumbled and went out of existence.[17] The Justice Party, which worked in collusion with the British to suppress the freedom movement met this defeat because of its opportunistic alliance with rajas, Zamindars and Chettiars.[18]

The minorities and the suppressed class were not happy with the activities of the Justice Party. Mr.Abbas Ali Khan one of its leader accused the party for supporting only the upper caste and not the Mohamedans.[19] The

suppressed class leader Mr.M.C.Rajah also left the Justice Party disgusted with their administration.[20]

Mr.E.V.R. after leaving Congress formed the self-respect movement in 1925 and become the President of the Justice Party in 1938.[21] He reorganized this party into Dravida Kazhagam at a conference held at Salem in 1944.[22] It adopted the separatist slogan for a separate Dravidanadu comprising the southern part of India. When Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam was founded (1949), the Dravidian movement lost much of its character.[23]

Mr.Rajaji, who was elected by the Congress after the 1937 election to head the Government left it in 1939 as per the decision of the all India committee due to the out break of the Second World War. When the British had taken the decision to handover power to the Congress after the war, the Congress was able to produce three Chief Ministers from 1946 onwards. They were Mr.T.Prakasam, Mr.Omanthur Ramasami Reddiar and Mr.Kumarasami Raja.

After 1952 election again Mr.Rajaji became the Chief Minister of the State. Andhra State was created at this time. He faced opposition from the Congress itself and was forced to step down and Mr.Kamaraj took over. His administration continued till 1963. He quit the office to strengthen the

Congress and paved the way for the election of Mr.M.Bhakthavatchalam as the new Chief Minister till the year 1967.

In the meantime the activities of DMK helped them to grow politically to a new height. They entered into the election fray in 1957 and in 1962 There were indications of a political change in the state. They took up the language issue and organized anti-Hindi agitations. The failure of rains led to food crisis, which also helped them to gain in the election. The exit of Kamaraj from TamilNadu made them stronger. The elevation of Mr.Kamaraj as the National President helped the party at national level but did not help the party in the State. Hence the debacle of Congress party was witnessed in the 1967 election. The Regional Party D.M.K. gained power. With this background, let us go to the next chapter to know the political development of the state in a detailed manner.

NOTES

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[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid.,p.321.

[20] Ibid.,p.322.

[21] Ibid.,p.335.

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[23] Rajayyan, K., Op.Cit., p.336.

CHAPTER II

POLITICS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

CHAPTER - II

POLITICS IN THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY

The Tamil Society of early 20th Century was dominated by, the Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Brahmins, Vellalas and Telugu Communities.[1] These sections of the society were a stumbling block to the rise of other sections the society in politics.[2] In the late 19th century socio – political organisations were established in Madras. The Theosophical Society started functioning from Adayar, Madras from 1884.

The Madras Mahajana Sabha was formed by a few rich people like, P.Ananda Charlu and P.Rangiah Naidu even before the establishment of the Indian National Congress. These persons along with S.Subramania Iyer attended the first session of the Indian National Congress at Bombay in 1885.[3] The third session of the Congress held at Madras in 1887, had set up a committee to education public on politics.[4] The partition of Bengal and the ill-treatment of the Indians in South Africa, Subramani Bharathi's patriotic songs, launching of Navigation Company by V.O.Chidambram, the political activities of Subramania Siva, Vanchi Iyer etc and the Home – rule movement of Annie Besant had not attracted the entire Tamil Community towards politics.

ANTI-BRAHMIN ORGANISATION

In the mean time the caste Hindu leaders had developed bitter feelings against the Brahmins. They were nursing a grievance against the Brahmins as such... and they wanted a movement.[5] Incidentally the Brahmins were the members of the Congress. So the caste Hindu leaders for the sake of opposing the Brahmins opposed the Congress too.

Hence in 1916 P.Theagaraya Chetty along with Raja of Panagal, K.V.Reddy, C.Natesa Mudaliar, Raja of Bobili etc. founded the South Indian Liberal Federation. This body along with Madras Dravidian Association and the South Indian Peoples Association combined themselves into the Justice Party, called after the newspaper published by the South Indian Liberal Federation.[6]

Non – Brahmin leaders like E.V.Ramaswami who was the Secretary (1921-23) and President (1923) of T.N.C.C had left Congress on the issue of Brahmin domination.[7] However that did not weaken the Party. Other leaders like V.Kalyana Sundaram, (Thiru.Vi.Ka), P.Varadarajulu Naidu, C.N.Muthuranga Mudaliar, Sardar Veda Ratnam Pillai etc., continued in the Congress.

Earlier, i.e. towards the end of 19th Century, the Brahmins faced the same situation. Their entry into various professions was not liked by, the European professionals.[8] The appointment in 1878 of a Brahmin Lawyer T.Muthusamy Aiyer, as the first South Indian Judge of the Madras High Court met with howls of indignation from the Local European Community.[9] In 1931, Ramaswami Naicker, found that many of his lieutenants were attracted by the idea of agitation and political martyrdom and some abandoned him to join the civil disobedience campaign.[10]

On 12th March 1930, Gandhi's Civil Disobedience Movement was launched. In Madras Presidency Rajagopalachari led the Salt Satyagraha to Vedaranyam. The Congress was able to attract more people towards its programmes. Leaders like N.G.Ranga, who had been identified with and patronised by the Justicites in the 1920s, was gradually drawn into the Congress in the early 1930s.[11] "In Trichinopoly(Tiruchi), Civil Disobedience was ledl by P.Ratnavelu Thevar who had until very recently been posing as a Justicite.[12] Nadars also flooded into civil disobedience to disprove the myth of Nadar's loyalty to the Justice Party and undermine the self imposed leaders of the community.[13] In Civil Disobedience, the Nadars set out to destroy the foundation of the Clique's (W.P.A Soundarapandian and others) claims to community leadership and to government patronage.[14] K.Kamaraj, the scion of a poor Virudhunagar

Nadar family, became one of the most prominent Congress organisers.[15] S.Satyamurthi (1887-1943) a Tamil Brahmin and a leader of T.N.C.C. was supported by him against Rajaji.[16]

Now the Justice Party, which became prominent in the Tamilnadu Politics during the 1920's due to various reasons including communal issues, had seen the decline of its political power. Earlier the British favoured the Justice Party as they found an opportunity to keep the Home Rule League under check.[17]

The Government of India Act, 1919 (Mont Ford Reforms) had introduced a limited responsible government. The Congress refused to contest the election of 1920. The Congressmen in Tamilnadu not only could not enter the elections but they would also not go to the polling stations to vote.[18] The Justice Party formed the ministry. The Government patronage enabled the party to win over the few men of power in the localities and through them to exert influence throughout the Province. [19] However the victory of Congress in the local body (District Boards, Panchayat Union Councils and Municipalities) elections show that the Tamil People were instinctively nationalist. [20] The failure of the Swarajist Challenge in the mid 1920's showed that for the moment the Justicities were safe since no other organization could scrape up the resources to

make a substantial challenge to their position.[21] In 1923 the Swarajists entered the fray. Hence the Governor nominated 17 Justicites to the council to enable the Justice Party to gain majority.[22] But by 1926, the Congress recognized the stand of the Swaraj Party and permitted the Congressmen's entry into elections. The Justice Party was routed in the election. Then it was decided by the Congress to support the non-Congress nationalists to form the Government. When the Salt Satyagraha and the civil Disobedience movement were initiated by Gandhiji in 1930, the Congressmen withdrew from the legislature and did not contest the next general elections.[23]

DECLINE OF JUSTICE PARTY

By the early 1930's the props of the Justicite edifice had begun to crumble. After Panagal's death in 1928, no other leading politician possessed quite such a relationship with the font of power.[24] However they continued in power till the elections were held under the Government of India Act, 1935.

In 1934 the Justicites suffered another serious defeat. When Congress refused to form the ministry Justice Party under Raja of Bobbili continued its administration. The election of 1937, witnesses a contest between national and regional parties. The Congress won majority (152 out of 215) of the Seats.. Tamilnadu had rejected the Justice Party in spite

of its claim that they represented the non – Brahmins. The Justice Party almost ceased to exist. Already their Tamil Paper "Dravidian" ceased publication at the end of 1932 and the company, which was runner of the English paper 'Justice' went into liquidation.[25]

The alienation of the common people from the party led to its collapse. Its collusion with the British Imperialism in the suppression of the freedom movement was looked down on as betrayal of the national cause. In 1936 P.T.Rajan claimed in utter disregard to popular sentiments "Repression succeeded in checking the civil disobedience campaign because the Justice Party and other such elements in the country encouraged such repressions."[26] It was even believed that their newspaper 'The Justice" was in the pay of the British, for the latter, purchased a thousand copies in return for its support.[27] Sardar Vallabhai Patel lamented that our fellow countrymen were to be blamed more than the foreigners for keeping the people in slavery.[28]

CONGRESS VICTORY

The election of 1937, witnessed the contest between the national and regional forces. Two new parties, the People's party and the Muslim League, too entered the fray.[29] The election result was a landslide victory for Congress.[30] In the Assembly 85 of the 93 Congress candidates in

Tamilnadu (in the erstwhile Madras Presidency) won the seats with 70% votes in Congress favour. [31] The Justice Party ceased to exist after this poll in spite of EVR being elected as President in 1938. In 1944 in a conference at Salem the Justice Party was constituted into the Dravida Kazhagam with the declared objective of forming a separate Dravidanadu. [32]

The defeat of Justice Party was unavoidable because all these years it had had an alliance with Muslims and the suppressed class for their convenience. This was realized by those people. Abbas Ali Khan, one of the Muslim leader of the Justice Party accrued that " I have found out from actual experience that whenever the question of appointment came in, they always preferred a Mudaliar, a Naidu, a Chettiar or a Pillai but not a Muhammadan".[33] The suppressed class leader M.C.Rajah left the party with many of his supporters.[34] Through a communal G.O they tried to save the party but could not succeed in retaining these sections with them.

The involvement of India in the Second world war made the Congressmen resign their ministries in 1939 because they where not consulted. The Governor James Hope took over the administration. The Congress propagated individual Satyagraha. The Japanese threat to India made the Congress support the British. Due to change in the attitude of the

National Congress, Tamilnadu Congress Committee also withdrew the agitation in Jan 1942.

The announcement of Cripps Mission, its arrival and proposals in March 1942 did not satisfy the Congress. Hence, in May Congress working committee met at Allahabad and passed the Quit India Resolution. In the Tamil Districts the agitation was not only intense but wide spread.[35] During this last Struggle the common people, the labourers, the students etc., involved themselves with vigour. At Madurai, the Congress volunteers clashed with the army.[36]

In 1942 Rajaji favoured the creation of Pakistan against the wishes of the Congress and subsequently left the organization. E.V.R demanded a separate Dravidanadu and the Communists like Mohan Kumaramangalam, Ramamurthy, Ananda Nambiar etc., supported the British.[37] The Election of 1945 in Great Britain and the success of Labour Party under, Atlee made viceroy Wavell release political prisoners and to conduct elections in Provinces. The Tamilnadu Congress Committee under the leadership of K.Kamaraj by this time had emerged as a powerful organisation.[38]

GANDHIJI'S VISIT TO TAMILNADU

In early 1946 Gandhiji visited Tamilnadu. His programme was kept as a secret by Rajaji who had re-entered Congress in 1945. It was not informed even to the State President Kamaraj.[39] Then Gandhiji visited Madurai. In the course of his travel, at Acharappakkam he appreciated Rajaji in his speech. It was not well received by the public. From then on throughout his tour he avoided mentioning Rajaji's achievements.[40]

After leaving Tamilnadu, Gandhiji wrote about his visit in his "Harijan". While appreciating Rajaji's popularity he ridiculed his opponents by using the word 'Clique', Kamaraj felt insulted and had quit from the Parliamentary Board Chairmanship (Constituted for selecting candidates for the 1946 election).[41] Later on Gandhiji promised in his reply to Varadarajulu Naidu,[42] a Congress leader, not to interfere in Tamilnadu politics in the future. The other members of the Board continued the work and selected candidates for the election. Even non – Congress, in fact anti-Congress leaders like E.V.Ramasamy Naicker had also condemned this view of Gandhiji. In Kudiyarasu (newspaper) he opined that Kamaraj would lose in political battle.[43]

Rajaji was not happy with the selection of candidates. He felt that his supporters did not find many places.[44] This led to Rajaji working

against the interest of the Tamilnadu Congress which ultimately weakened the party. He wrote a letter to Gandhiji expressing his wish to move away from the Tamilnadu political scene.[45]

The 1946 General election gave 165 seats out of 205 to the Congress. The State leaders had consulted Sardar Vallabai Patel to select the Prime Minister (here after called Chief Minister) for Madras State. Rajaji's name emerged as a possible candidate.[46] This proposal was rejected by the Madras Legislators (38 votes in favour of Rajaji and 148 against him).[47] When the state leaders met Gandhi he proposed Pattabhi Sitaramayya as the candidate.[48] Gandhi was not in favour of T.Prakasam who was also a candidate.[49] Gandhiji did not want him, even to become a minister. Rajaji was unhappy because he was not supported by Kamaraj and his supporters. When Pattabhi Sitarammayya met Gandhiji in April 11, 1946 Gandhiji sought his opinion on Rajaji becoming the Chief Minister.[50] He said that it was not possible. When Kamaraj met Gandhiji in April 12, 1946, he promised Rajaji's support for the candidature of Pattabhi Sitaramayya.[51]

The State Congress President Kamaraj was elected to Central Assembly which later on became the Constituent Assembly. When the legislature party met to elect a leader Karanth had proposed the name of

T.Prakasam in deference to the wishes of Gandhi and he was opposed by C.N.Mutharanga Mudaliyar.[52] Pattabhi Sitarammayya did not contest because Rajaji was not inclined to support him and this was vociferously expressed to Kamaraj at Delhi.[53] To defeat Kamaraj's candidate, Rajaji and his supporters remained neutral in this election. [54] Telugu speaking members had supported T.Prakasam inspite of Gandhiji's opposition to his candidature. In the election, T.Prakasam was elected as the leader of the state legislature party in April 30,1946 with a winning margin of just 7 votes. Rajaji's group of 33 remained neutral. Had Rajaji supported Kamaraj's candidate and opposed the candidate (Prakasam) not liked by Gandhi, Muhuranga Mudaliar would have become the Chief Minister.[55] This incident made Kamaraj to support Telugu Speaking Congressmen O.P.Ramasamy Reddiar and P.S.Kumarasamy Raja for the Chief Ministership later (Personal Interview with Ma.Po.Sivaganam, Madras 28 July 1994).[56] This election once again made the Congress to become the ruling party after the resignation of Rajaji in 1939. The dominance of Telugu Speaking Congressmen and their opposition to non Telugu Congressmen occupying the highest position is very evident from this issue. Even the Telugu friends of Kamaraj who were all the Congress legislators voted in favour of T.Prakasam. .[57]

Rajaji was waiting for an opportunity to take revenge against Kamaraj for not making him as the Chief Minister of the State. Tamilnadu Congress Committee election was held in May 16,1949 to elect the State President and other office bearers. No body came forward to contest against Kamaraj.The Rajaji group had requested Muthuramalinga Devar to contest. But he had refused to do so. [58]

At last Karaikudi S.Ganesan was selected as a candidate against Kamaraj. In spite of Rajaji's support to him, Kamaraj won the election with a vast majority of votes.[59] Rajaji himself told Kamaraj after sometime that by fielding a weak candidate they lost nothing.[60]

When T.Prakasam formed his ministry he did not heed to the suggestion of Kamaraj and gave more representation to Rajaji's group. [61] Kamaraj suggested Kerala Congress President Madhava Menon for ministership, where as Prakasam appointed, Raghava Menon of Rajaji group as a Minister of Transport and Housing. This incident led to more misunderstanding between Kamaraj and Prakasam.[62] However Kamaraj continued his support to Prakasam Ministry. The supporters of Kamaraj wanted him to act against Prakasam Ministry. [63] But as a true Congressman Kamaraj did not initiate any action against Prakasam.

In the meantime a secret meeting was held at Delhi in Rajaji's house to remove Prakasam and install O.P. Ramasamy Reddiar as the new Chief Minister.[64] Legislators had submitted a memorandum to the Congress High command asking for a change in the leadership. Hence Acharya Kirpalani was sent as an emissary to sort out the issue.[65]

As a last resort, Prakasam was ready to accept anybody as his ministers but wanted to be allowed to continue as the Chief Minister. [66] There was an allegation that his son had indulged in some scandals using his father's name and office.[67]

Except Kamaraj, almost all the leaders had accepted the submission of Prakasam. This message was conveyed to Kamaraj by Kirpalani, expecting a similar view from him. [68] Kamaraj was not ready to change his view on Prakasam. Hence a resolution expressing no-confidence on Prakasam was carried out in the legislature party of Congress and he resigned in March 14,1947. Moreover as per then existing rules the leader of the legislature party was to be elected every year.

KAMARAJ AS KINGMAKER

When the question of next Chief Minister to the state was discussed, Rajaji suggested Omanthur Ramasami Reddiar's name to Kamaraj. [69] The

Congress circle suspected the intention of Rajaji. Omanthur Ramasami Reddiar was not a graduate and was also not able to communicate in English. Rajaji would have thought that these disqualifications would act against the new candidate[70] and ultimately his name would emerge as a compromise candidate.

But Kamaraj respected Omanthur Ramasamy Reddiar because he was a true freedom fighter. He had participated in the Vedaranyam Salt Satyagraha and imprisoned.[71] He was a village Moniyagar (Administrative officer) of Omanthur and respected by the people. Earlier he was the President of TNCC for a year (1939-40).[72] Hence he was supported by, Kamaraj as the right man for the post. The real intention of Rajaji was out when the election was held. Rajaji's supporters did not show any interest in Omanthur Ramasamy Reddiar in the election. [73] The very next year Dr.P.Subbarayan contested against him with the support of Rajaji.[74] Since Kamaraj continued his support he was re-elected for one more year.

But his straight forwardness and non-cordial relationship with the bureaucrats went against him. Even Congress legislators and frontliners also felt insulted when he ordered to his officials not to heed to the advice of the partymen. [75] Due to these developments Kamaraj had decided to make P.S.Kumarasami Raja as the next Chief Minister and he assumed

office in April 1949. [76] Kamaraj felt that if a change was not made the party would become weaker. In the interest of the party the change of leadership was attempted by him. However he could not go against the Telugu members of the party. Hence the choice fell on P.S.Kumarasami Raja. [77]

Earlier during Omanthur Ramasami Reddiar's Chief Ministership, the Tamilnadu Government's seal with a Gopuram and a Slogan 'Sathyamave Jayathe' was made official, in spite of Nehru's opposition.[78] Another important event was the implementation of complete prohibition in the state on Oct 2,1948. Earlier it was implemented only in 4 districts. [79]

The Rajaji group wanted to make their man the Chief Minster in 1949. Hence Dr.Subbarayan was made the candidate. [80] P.S.Kumarasami Raja was an experienced administrator. He was a Minister under Rajaji, T.Prakasam and O.P.Ramasami Reddiyar. He was elected with a thumping majority. His ministry assumed office on April 6,1949. [81] He continued as the Chief Minster till the first general election in 1952. He also had the support of O.P.Ramasamy Reddiar. [82].

In the meantime a new political Party under the leadership of C.N..Annadurai called Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (D.M.K.) had emerged in Tamilnadu due to differences with the Dravida kazhagam

founder E.V.R. in 1949.[83] It was C.N..Annadurai, who moved a resolution at the Salem conference in Aug. 27,1944 to change the name of Justice Party to Dravida Khazhagam with a declared objective of forming a separate Dravidanadu. [84] On September 17,1949 a few top leaders met at K.K.Neelamegam's house at Pavazhakara street, Madras.[85] Earlier, E.V.R.'s marriage with Maniammai was objected to by, this group. It seems earlier an impression was created that after E.V.R. it would be C.N.Annadurai. It is evident from the speeches of E.V.R. especially at Thuthukkudi Confernce in the year 1948, where he said after him the elder son who is a genius, experienced and dependable would get the keys of his treasury. [86]

C.N.Annadurai wrote an article in his 'Dravida Nadu' magazine on July 3, 1949 condemning the marriage.[87] However the marriage was solemnized in July 9, 1949. C.N..Annadurai said Maniammai, the new Annie Besant, is going to become leader. Let us keep ourselves ready.[88]

According to Malai Mani dated 19.09.1949 Bethampalayam Palanisamy, A.Chithaian, N.V.Natarajan, E.V.K.Sampath, S.R.Subramanian, A.V.P.Asaithami, Era.Neduchezhian, Madurai Muthu, K.K.Neelamegam, Sathiavanimuthu and C.N..Annadurai were speakers at the inaugural public meeting at Robinson Park, Madras. [89] It is to be noted

that the current President of DMK, Mr. M.Karunanithi did not find a place in the first executive committee (1949-52) of the party (total 16) but was included as a general council member (Total 133). [90] P.C.Ganesan in an article says Mr.M.Karunanithi was not there in the dais at Robinson Park Meeting when the party was inaugurated.[91]

This political party was responsible for the defeat of Congress in 1967, though in the initial stages it did not receive recognition in society. Later on people started supporting it against Congress. A former D.M.K. leader who was a Minister under M.Karunanithi during D.M.K.'s rule from 1996-2001 says in an article, when D.M.K.'s flag was hoisted in his native village Kombukkaranenthal in 1961, the members of his family along with his supporters' family were ex-communicated by the village elders. [92] But within a span of few years that party gained enough support to rule Tamilnadu.

In 1950 Kamaraj was re - elected as the President of T.N.C.C. He was opposed by, C.B.Subbaiah who had the support of Rajaji. [93] The Congress was able to carry on quite successfully, in spite of opposition by Prakasam's group, during the term of 1946-51. [94] During this period anti – integration activities like picketing of North Indian shops by the Dravida Kazhagam were organized from 16th October 1950 to 6th April 1951.[95]

Preparations were made for the first general elections under the new constitution in the State. Shri Prakasa had succeeded Sri Krishna Kumarshinji Bhavsinji Maharaja of Bhavnagar as Governor of Madras in March 12, 1952. The Following was the position of parties on 31st March 1951 in the Legislative Assembly[96]

Congress	:	168
Muslim League	:	20
United People's Party	:	16
Europeans	:	3
Communists	:	2
Independents	:	5
Total	:	214

Legislative Council[97]

Congress	:	39
Muslim League	:	4
United Democrats	:	7
Independents	:	5
Total		55

The general council of D.M.K., which met on November 17, 1951, had resolved that "Since the constitution was framed by a single party

without knowing the opinion of the Dravidians, as a mark of condemnation the party would not contest the election".[98] It was declared that they would support non Congress parties and individuals. This view was reiterated in the first provincial conference of the Dravidian progressive Federation in the STAA grounds Park Town, Madras.

The Praja Socialists who had left the Congress had organized an agitation towards the end of 1951 against the congress rule. In the 1952 election to defeat Congress a United Front was formed comprising the Praja Party, Communists Socialist Party, S.C. Federation, Toilers Party, Common Weal Party etc.,

To make the Congress stronger to face these challengers, a Congress leader Chokkalingam organized a meeting. Ramakrishna Aiyer V.C.Palanisamy Gounder, Chidambara Bharathi, Sudarsanam Naidu, Sanglia Pillai, Annamalai Pillai, Udaiyappa etc. participated in this meeting.[99] It was decided to meet both K.Kamaraj and Omanthur Ramasamy Reddiar to make reconciliation in the party.

Kamaraj had readily agreed and offered to give fifty percent membership in the Parliamentary Committee to the supporters of Ramasamy Reddiar.[100] When this was conveyed to him, he made two

conditions he wanted the Government to open free food centers in the drought affected centers and also demanded waiving of land tax for the affected farmers.[101] The Chief Minister Kumarasami Raja did not care to implement these demands. Hence Ramasamy Reddiar's co-operation for strengthening the Congress was not forthcoming.

The General election to the Legislative Assembly had commenced on Nov.7, 1951 and was completed in Feb.11, 1952.[102] The differences among the Congress leaders and propaganda against the Congress by leader like Prakasam did tell on the electoral performance of the Congress under the new constitution.[103] The Congress had fielded 367 candidates out of the total seats of 375.[104] In spite of the hard election work by the Congress leaders like Nehru and Kamaraj the result was not entirely in its favour. It is to be noted that Rajaji did not work for Congress in the election. The following is the result of 1952 election.[105]

Congress	:	152
Independents	:	62
Communists	:	62
Kisan Mazdoor Praja Party	:	35
Tamilnadu Toilets Party	:	19
Krishikar Lok Party	:	15
Socialists	:	13

Common Weal	:	6
Muslim League	:	5
Marxist Party	:	3
S.C.Federation	:	2
Justice	:	1
Total		375

Almost all the top leaders of the party led by the Chief Minister P.S.Kumarasami Raja lost the election Ministers and leaders like M.Bakthavatchalam, Kalavenkat Rao, K.Chandramouli, K.MadavaMenan, P.Gopala Reddy and N.Sanjiva Reddy were also defeated. Kamaraj was elected to the Parliament from Srivilliputhur Constituency. [106] He defeated his opponent G.D.Naidu. The opposition parties formed the United Democratic Front to form a coalition ministry. [107] T.Prakasan of KMP Party this was elected the leader of the united front.[108] Kamaraj felt that this front would not last long due to different ideologies of the partners. Hence, he wanted them to be given a chance.[109] His intention was to expose their opportunistic alliance. Speaking at a public meeting at Tirunelveli he said they had no common policy or programme. The United Front was an unnatural combination of disgruntled elements, which lacked political cohesion[110]

RAJAJI AS THE CHIEF MINISTER

The AICC, which met at Calcutta, wanted the Congress to form a ministry at Madras.[111] Now it was the responsibility of Kamaraj to select a leader to face the situation. P.S.Kumarasami Raja was not willing to form the ministry on moral grounds. Leaders like T.T.Krishnamachari, Ramnath Goenka etc., had suggested Rajaji's name for the Chief Minister.[112] They thought that he would be the right person to contain the socialists and communists. Expectedly Rajaji asserted that he would be public Enemy No.1 of the communists when he become, the C.M.

Rajaji the former Congress President, Chief Minister in 1937, Central Minister in 1946, Governor of Bengal after Independence and the last Governor General of India, was willing to accept the Chief Ministership with the support of Kamaraj.[113] The T.N.C.C. under the Presidentship of Kamaraj passed a resolution requesting Rajaji to form the Ministry and Rajaji accepted the invitation.[114] Kamaraj himself chose to invite Rajaji to take up the reins and the Government was formed.[115] Nani A.Palkhivala, a Jurist remarked that Rajaji has carried the story of Indian Independence forward into a new chapter – freedom from subjugation of Indians by Indians, the full significance of which will be realized only in the years to come.

In the Independent India, Madras State had had three Chief Ministers so far. All of them were either selected or supported by Kamaraj for the position. It has clearly shown that he was a force to reckon with in Tamilnadu politics. Since the fortunes of the Chief Ministers were decided by, Kamaraj it is rightly pointed out that he was the King Maker of Madras Politics. [116] Rajaji was not a member of the Legislative Assembly at that time. Hence Jawaharlal Nehru suggested that he should contest in a by election, to qualify to continue as the Chief Minister as per the Indian Constitution.[117]

But Rajaji through the then Chief Minister Kumarasami Raja, made the Governor nominate him to the Upper House.[118] After completing his responsibility of forming a Congress ministry in the State, Kamaraj resigned his Presidentship of the party, accepting moral responsibility for the Congress not being able to get a clear majority in the Assembly. The assignment to him was to consolidate Congress and contain the growth of the communists. P.Subbarayan was made the President. But P.Subbarayan was not able to run the organization. He resigned and Kamaraj took over again as the President at the end of the year 1952. [119]

The council of Ministers sworn into office, on the forenoon of April 10,1952 with the following members. [120]

1. Sri. C.Rajagopalachari (Chief Minister)
2. Sri. A.B.Shetty
3. Sri. C.Subramanian
4. K.Venkatasami Naidu
5. N.Renga Reddi
6. Dr.M.V.Krishna Rao
7. V.C.Palanisamy Gounder
8. Dr. U. Krishna Rao
9. Dr.R.Naga Gowda
10. N.Sankara Reddi
11. M.A.Manickkavelu Naicker
12. K.P.Kuttikrishna Nair
13. Raja Sri Shanmuga Rajeswara Sethupathi
14. Sri. S.B.P.. Pattabhirama Rao
15. Sri. D.Sanjeevayya

As a result of the formulation of the new state for the Andhra area and the transfer of certain areas to Mysore, the following had resigned with effect from October 1,1953.[121]

1.Sri N.Ranga Reddi

2.Sri. Dr.M.V.Krishna Rao

3.Sri Dr. R.Naga Gowda

4.Sri. N.Sankara Reddi

5. Sri. S.B.P. Pattabhirama Rao

6. Sri. D.Sanjeevayya

With effect from October 9,1953 the following had been inducted as Ministers. [122]

1. Sri M.Bakthavatchalam
2. Sri.K.Rajaram
3. Srimathi Jothi Venkatachalam

After assuming office M.A. Manickavelu's Common Weal party was merged with the Congress and he was made a Minister.[123] Some independents also supported the ministry. The recently formed United Front began to disintegrate because there was no hope of getting power in the State under its banner.

The Ministry under Rajaji took some bold measures to deal with the problems of civil supplies and food grains supplied through ration shops had completely abolished and removed private control over food grains.[124]

An Act was passed to solve the problems faced by the landlords of Thanjavur and the labourers.[125] These measures to a certain extent reduced the grip of the Communists over the agriculturist labourers. [126] He also took some measures to deal with the slump in the handloom market. [127] There

is no second opinion about his administrative abilities and honesty. He was second to none in taking quick decisions and implementing them. Some of his decisions like asking the recipients of land grants, for their contribution and sacrifice during the national struggle against the foreign yoke, to surrender to the Government were not well received.[128] His leadership didn't help the Party to gain politically. For example, in the Aruppukkottai Assembly constituency by-election, (a seat vacated by Muthuramalinga Devar, because he had won from two Constituencies in the 1952 general election) Rajaji personally appealed to the voters to elect a Congress candidate. He told them that otherwise he would not continue as Chief Minister. But the voters supported the candidate of Muthuramalinga Devar and defeated the Congress candidate.[129]

The most important events during Rajaji's Chief Ministership from 1952 were the formation of the new state of Andhra Pradesh consisting of Telugu-Speaking areas of the composite Madras State and the merger of the Kannada-Speaking areas of former Bellary District with the Mysore State, with effect from October 1, 1953[130] and the introduction of a new Education Policy for Primary education.

The separation of Andhra region led to the strengthening of Congress Party in the state legislature. The separated Andhra region had

very few Congress legislators. The new Madras State assembly had a large number of Congressmen. Now the danger of destabilising party's rule did not exist. That paved the way for the reemergence of opposition to Rajaji and the emergence of Kamaraj as a more powerful leader and the Chief Minister of the state for the next decade. The Toilers Party under S.S.Ramasamy Padaiachi also merged with the Congress Government and he became a minister.[131]

The new Primary Education Policy of Rajaji evoked stormy response in the entire state.[132] It was either not understood in the right perspective or willful wrong interpretation, was given by, the Opposition. Agitations were organized and caste feelings were kindled for political gain.

However these two events led to the emergence of Kamaraj as an unquestionable leader of the State. The Chief Ministership, which was due to him even in 1946, was offered to him by the Congressmen to save the Party from disintegration. We should also note that these developments also led to the exit of Rajaji from Congress once and for all and to become its enemy number one.

Let us discus these developments i.e., the creation of Andhra State and the emergence of Kamaraj as the Chief Minister of the Madras State in 1954 in the next chapter in a detailed manner.

NOTES

[1] Rajayyan,K., (1982) History of Tamilnadu 1565-1982 (Raj publishers , Madurai) p.291.

[2]Ibid. p.292.

[3] Annie Besant, (1915), How India Wrought for Freedom (Madras) p.1.

[4] Baliga B.S., (1957) Madras in the struggle for Independence,pp.5-6.

[5] Bakthavatchalam.M. Political Developments in TN Since 1920 (Compiled by Thanga Jayaraman, Madras) p.10.

[6] C.V.Subha Rao, (1957), Life and Times of K.V.Reddi Naidu, (Rajamundri),p.30.

[7] David Arnold, (1977). The Congress in Tamilnadu.(Manohar, New Delhi), p.235.

[8] Ibid, p.16.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Baker CJ., (1976), The Politics of South India 1920-37, (Vikas New Delhi) p.193.

[11] Ibid.,p.213.,

[12] Ibid.,p.217.

[13] Ibid .,p.219.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Rajayyan.K., Op.Cit p.284.

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CHAPTER III

FORMATION OF ANDHRA STATE AND THE EMERGENCE OF TAMILNADU IN 1953

CHAPTER - III

FORMATION OF THE ANDHRA AND THE EMERGENCE OF TAMILNADU IN 1953

The English East India Company had taken over the administration of Tamil land gradually. After the Mysore wars (ended in 1799) Kongunadu comprising the modern districts of Salem, Dharmapuri, Krishnagiri, Coimbatore, Erode and other districts like Dindigul, The Nilgiris, Malabar, Karur etc had passed into the hands of the English. Through a settlement with Serfoji dated 25th October 1799 with a strange title, "Treaty for Cementing the Friendship and Alliance between the Company and the Raja of Thanjavur and for Establishing the Government of Thanjavur on a Permanent foundation" the entire Thanjavur country came under the control of the British. [1]

Quoting the Treaty of 1792, which regulated British relation with Arcot, the successor to the Arcot, Ali Hussain, son of Umdut ul Umara and grand son of Mohammed Ali, was replaced by Azim ul Daula on July 31, 1802 for the alleged violation of the agreement.[2] The new Nawab agreed to become only a titular head, and the British acquired the Carnatic from the Wallajah and became masters of the entire Tamil Country[3]. In 1801 the Nizam of Hyderabad had ceded Anantapur, Bellary, Kurnool and Cuddapa District to the British. Thus a new administrative unit called the Madras

Presidency was created comprising almost all the modern Southern States of Andhra, Karnataka, Kerala and Tamilnadu except the Presidency States like Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore, Cochin etc.

Though ethnically the people of this part of our country belong to the same race i.e. the Dravidian race, linguistically it is divided into major divisions. This division is reflected in their Politics and Power games. Numerically Kannadigas and Malayalees inhabitation in the state was very meager when compare to the Tamils and Telugus.

When the Indian National Congress was started, in the initial years they had only one Pradesh Congress Committee (PCC) for the entire Madras Presidency. But later on during 1920's the national leaders yielded to the pressure of the regional linguistically supported leaders and created separate Congress committees for Kerala region, Andhra region and Tamil region. This was done purely for political reasons. The Indian National Congress was in need of the support from every section of the society to achieve the goal of getting complete Swaraj for the country. Keeping the overall interest of the country in mind they knowingly ignored the division among the people of this Presidency based on language. [4]

This division led to many problems especially on the eve of Indian Independence on the question of forming ministries. The T.N.C.C. was not able to push a candidate from among the Tamils. The first three chief ministers from 1946 to 1952 were all Telugus. Even in 1945 after the general election Kamaraj wanted V.V. Giri to be C.M. but T. Prakasam convinced him not to contest for the Post. In 1952, after the first general elections an attempt was made to allow the last Telugu Chief Minister of the State Shri. P.S. Kumarasamiraja to continue.[5]

We should also keep it in our mind that even before the INC dividing into Pradesh Congress on language basis in 1912, an organization called "Andhra Mahasabha" was formed at Gundur.[6] The Primary aim was to create a separate state for Andhrities in the region where they live in large numbers. Even during Justice Party's rule from1919 to 1936, the then Chief Ministers (Called Prime Ministers) Shri A. Subbarayalu Reddiar, Raja of Panagal, Munisami Naidu and Raja of Bobbili were all Telugus except Dr. A. Subbarayan.

After independence, especially after the death of Vallabhbhai Patel the formation of Andhra State reached its Peak. They asked the Congress to implement its old resolutions- dating back to 1920's –in favour of linguistic states.[7] In the monsoon of 1951, a Congressman-turned-swami

named Sitaram went on a hunger strike demanding Andhra State and after five weeks gave up his fast in response to an appeal by the Sarvodaya leader, Vinoba Bhave.[8]

The Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee in course of time also supported the policy of formation of a separate Mahasabha[9] cutting Party lines, the Andhra legislators in the Madras Assembly supported the demand.[10] The Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the Madras State Chief Minister Rajaji have gone on record as saying that they did not think that the immediate creation of Andhra was a good idea. [11]

Started as an agitation for a separate State for the Telugus now had a new slogan was added to their agitation i.e. 'Madras Manathe' (Madras is ours). This agitation had its reflection in the 1952 election results denying more seats to the Congress in the Andhra region. But this new demand for Madras was responsible for linguistic based organisations and separatists to make an attempt to grow in Tamilnadu.

THE ROLE OF THAMZHARASU KAZHAGAM

Thamizharasu Kazhagam with an intention of promoting the interest of the Tamils and their language was founded on Nov. 21, 1946 at ' Tamil Murasu' a Tamil News paper's office at Madras by M. P. Sivagnanam[12]

(who is popularly known as Ma. Po. Si.). He was a Congress member belonging to Rajaji's group. He contested against Kamaraj for the State Presidentship in 1948 at Coimbatore and was very badly defeated. He made attempts to emotionalize the issue by kindling the Tamil linguistic feeling to counter the movement started by the Telugus for Madras. He coined a slogan, " Thalaikkoduthenum Thalainagaraik kappom" (Let us save the Capital even if the cost is our head)[13]

In the Mettupalayam Conference of Coimbatore and the Nilgiris Districts held on 18 and 19 April 1953, the Thamizharasu Kazhagam headed by Ma. Po. Si demanded the partition of Tamilnadu from the Indian Union[14] as a counter move to irritate the Telugus and to satisfy the feeling of the Tamil Chauvinists. But this resolution in fact irritated the nationalist Congress leaders and they (the Tamilnadu Congress) decided to send Thamizharasu Kazhagam members out of Congress in their executive committee meeting held in July 25, 1953. [15] The C.M. Rajaji refused to say anything on the issue in public. On appeal, the decision to send Thamizharasu Kazhagam members from the Congress was deferred by the National Executive Committee meeting in September 19, 1953. [16]

However their Separatist tendencies did not subside. On August 11, 1953, Ma. Po. Si. participated in a meeting at Tilakar Thidal, Triplicane demanding re - organization of the Northern boundaries. [17]

L.S. Karaiyalar who succeeded Kamaraj as the President of TNCC in 1954 was more stern than Kamaraj in the Kazhagam issue. [18] In July 20, 1954, R. Venkatraman, the secretary T.N.C.C., wrote a letter to Ma. Po. Si asking him to resign from the Kazhagam within 15days.[19] This ultimatum made Ma. Po. Si (after an executive meeting on Aug 3, 1954) to ask all the Thamizharasu Kazhagam members to resign from Congress and informed the decision to Congress through a letter dated August 8, 1954.[20] We have to remember that the demand for separation of Andhra from the Madras Presidency was voiced even during the British rule. In 1952 Andhra Mahasabha was established in Gundur with the sole objective of separating Telugu speaking areas from the Madras Presidency and creating Andhra state for Telugus. [21]

The Andhra Mahasabha had worked hard to cultivate a sense of identity among the Telugu speaking people of the Madras Presidency, whom, they claimed, had been discriminated against by the Tamils.[22] Hence, the feeling of separate people based on their language was in vogue

even during the early 20th century. The Mahasabha also extended its activities in the princely state of Hyderabad.[23]

Knowingly or unknowingly the Congress was also responsible for the growth of this kind of separatist tendencies based on language. In early 1920's the Congress passed a resolution in favour of creation of linguistic states.[24] Now the Congress Party's opposition to linguistic based states was not well received by its own cadres.

CREATION OF ANDHRA

The demand for a separate state for Telugu reached its culmination point during the early 50s. Cutting across party lines, the Andhra legislators in the Madras Assembly supported the demand.[25] To achieve their demand the Telugus indulged in all forms of agitations. After exhausting simple methods like petitions and marches now the Gandhian way of showing protest by self- mortification by some of his disciples ignited the agitation to a great extent.

A Congressman turned swami named Sitraram went on a hunger strike demanding the immediate creation of an Andhra state, in the monsoon of 1951.[26] This fasting Programme attracted the attention of the entire country. Top Congress leaders tried their best to end the fasting

programme. The programme went on for weeks. After five weeks the fast was given up, in response to an appeal by the Sarvodaya leader Vinoba Bhave.[27]

A solution to this demand was not forthcoming. The Telugus were frustrated and wanted to do something more concrete to achieve their goal. For them the opportunity came in the form of Election. The first ever general election to the State of Madras was held at the end of 1952. They showed their anger against the Congress in the form of not voting for them and instead elected their political foes like Communists, Socialists etc.

In the mean time the separatist organizations in Tamilnadu were trying to divide the nation on the basis of race. For example, in the Dravidian Progressive Federation Conference held in December in the 1951 in the SIAA grounds Park town, Madras, C.N Annadurai, the D.M.K founder in his Presidential address said that the aim of the Conference was to Chalk out programme to establish an independent Dravidanadu, comprising the areas of the Madras State.[28] He explained that the North Indian Domination on the South economically and politically would be put down. It is to be remembered here that earlier their parent Organisation Dravida Khazhagam conducted a picketing Programme of North Indian Shops from 16th October 16 1950 to April 6 1951.

The Dravidian Progressive Front of D.M.K insisted that it would support only those candidates who had signed a pledge to support the 'Dravida Nadu' movement.[29] The Communists Party refused to sign the pledge. But C.N. Annadurai said that a Common Programme could be evolved with the leftist forces to bring about social and economic revolution after the election.[30] It is very interesting to note that C.N.Annadurai declares in the 'Dravida Nadu' that Brahamins and others would be treated as equal citizens.[31] He openly announced that their aim is to co-operate with anti-congress forces. The demand for a separate Dravidian State was made even earlier than the birth of the D.M.K party. On June, 15, 1947, a Dravidian conference was held at Tiruchi demanding a separate Dravidian State. [32] The conference attended by E.V.R and Vedachalam was presided over by a former minister S.Muthaiah Mudaliar, and passed a resolution in favour of creating a Dravidian State.[33]

At the same time there were stiff opposition for the separatism of D.M.K, not only from the Telugus but also from the Tamils. 'Dravidian Movement Opposition Front' (Dravida Eyyakka Etirppu Munnani) was started in early 1951 only for this purpose.[34] In fact this organization published an advertisement in the Sengol, a weekly, under the caption 'Wanted Workers' (Thondargal Thevai) for conducting District level

conferences and meeting.[35] Others like the Makkal Nadu; Makkal Manram etc. also exposed the evils of Dravidanadu. Sengol lambasted D.K and D.M.K as parties having no policy. It blamed them for degenerating the Tamil culture among the young students. Hence they felt there was a need for creating awareness in the society among the youngsters.[36] Their aim was to co-operate with all anti-Congress forces. This kind of demand did not attract the Telugus.

The separate State demand of the Telugus also went against the Congress. It was reflected in the 1952 general elections. In the Telugu dominated areas of the Madras State more non-Congress candidates were elected to the Madras Legislative assembly. It reached its a culmination point after the election of Rajaji as the Chief Minister. Rajaji was the first non-Telugu Chief Minister after Independence. He has gone on record that he did not favour the creation of linguistic based states. We should also remember another important fact that even during 1920-37 period except Dr. A. Subbarayan all other Chief Minister's (A. Subbarayalu Reddiar, Raja of Panagal, Munniswami Naidu and Raja of Bobbili) were Telugus. This single non-Telugu CM was not allowed to run the government smoothly. A no-confidence motion against his ministry was tabled by the Justicites but they could not gain enough support.[37] An agitation was also organized against the government by the Justice Party but this had no

perceptible impact.[38] These developments make us to think that if the Chief Minister was not Rajaji this separatist tendency would not have reached the culmination point.

On May 22,1952, Nehru told Parliament that the need of the hour was only to consolidate India and not working against it. He added that the formation of linguistic Provinces may be desirable in some cases, but this was obviously the wrong time. [39] This appeal of the PM did not get the expected result. Instead it aggravated the situation. Now the agitators for the creation of Andhra state started hating not only the C.M. Rajaji but also the P.M. Nehru.[40]

Potti Sriramulu, qualified as a sanitary engineer, the salt satyagrahist, a congressman, a staunch follower of Gandhiji imprisoned for 18 months, who spent some time in the Sabarmati Ashram till 1938, also took part in Quit India movement, began a fast unto death in Madras.[41] He had the blessings of Swami Sitaram, who himself undertook a fasting Programme in 1951 with the support of thousands of Telugu-speaking people

It seems Potti Siramulu selected Madras, instead of a place in Andhra region with a double purpose, i.e. creation of Andhra state and

making Madras as its capital. The popular leader of Andhra, T. Prakashan, Buhisu Sambha Murthy etc. gave moral support by participating in this fasting Programme. [42]

Earlier the eccentric (a comment made by Gandhi about him in 1946) leader Potti Sriramulu had began a fast unto death on November 25, 1946 to demand the opening of all temples in Madras Province to Harijans.[43] Later he abandoned the fast due to the appeal made by Gandhi. Potti Sriramulu was a determined person.

Unfortunately Gandhi was not alive in 1952 to persuade him to called off the programme. The issue also flared up in the Legislative Council of the Madras State where Ma. Po. Si demanded his arrest for provoking the linguistic feeling in the Madras City. The Chief Minister Rajaji appealed to the members not to rake up the issue since the life of the person undertaking the fast was in danger.

Even after six weeks the solution was not in sight. On December 3, 1952, Nehru wrote to the C.M.Rajaji stating that he was totally unmoved by the fast unto death programme.[44] Telugus were agitated and support for Potti Sriramulu grew to new height. Bandh or Hartal had become the order of the day in many places. The sociologist Andre Beteille, travelling

to Madras from Calcutta at this time, recalls having his train stopped at Vizag by an angry mob shouting slogans against Rajaji and Nehru. [45] The agitators now targeted the Congress and their leaders. Telugus are made to understand that the Congress is anti Telugu. A feeling of hatred towards Congress was developed.

After allowing the situation to grow in an uncontrolled manner, now the Congress Leaders, Nehru and Rajaji realised the danger to the unity of the Nation. On December 12, 1952 nearly after two months of the fast unto death programme of Potti Sriramulu, the P.M Nehru wrote to the C.M Rajaji again on the issue. Now he suggested that the time had come to accept the Andhra demand.[46]

Due to reasons known only to them the formal announcement for the creation of Andhra State was delayed. Potti Sriramulu continued his fast and on December 15, 1952, he died after 58 days fasting for the creation of Andhra.[47] The delay in announcing the decision by the Government resulted in great loss not only to the Telugus but also to the country.

The death resulted in unprecedented violence in the Andhra region.[48] Government offices were attacked and trains stopped and defaced. [49] The

violence forced the police to open fire to kill a few. The Government machinery in the Andhra region became almost inactive due to the continuance of violence and damage to government property.

The P.M. Nehru at last officially announced that Andhra would be created and the boundaries would be decided by an independent Commission. Slowly the violence subsided but not the anger against the Congress Government. The Vice – President, Dr. S. Radha Krishnan told the Council of States that the Prime Minister had taken steps in regard to the formation of an Andhra province out of the undisputed Telugu areas. [50]

The anti-Congress Government sentiment was evident during the Funeral procession of Sriramulu from the residence of Buhisu Sambamurti in Mylapore (Madras) to the Vysya Crematorium in Choolai (Madras).[51] Youngmen in the procession shouted slogans demanding that Andhra Ministers in the Madras Cabinet and the members in the legislature resign. [52]

In his funeral oratation, T.Prakasam hoped that after Sriramulu's supreme sacrifice, the Telugus would stand united and follow the footsteps of the great departed leaders fail to achieve what he had fasted grimly for and died nobly for.[53] He told the admirers of Potti Sriramulu that the

martyr had realized that there is no place for truth in this world. [54] He pronounced that the sacrifice would bring good to millions of Telugus.

The Union government in the meantime engaged itself in constituting a Commission for the Creation of an Andhra State. Interestingly some people of Rayalseema in the proposed Andhra State opposed the Creation of an Andhra State. T. Pulla Reddi, President of the Cuddappa District Board said in a statement that when their conditions cannot now be improved with all the resources of the Composite state, it is futile to think that a divided state can do so. [55] On behalf of the Rayalseema people he made an appeal to the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, to postpone this issue by another ten years.[56]

However Nehru kept his promise and a Commission was constituted to finalize the creation of Andhra. Leaders like E.V. Ramasami Naicker wanted the new Andhra State to be formed with least delay. He expressed the view while presiding over a meeting of the Lakshmipuram Young men's Association in Madras on January 5, 1953. [57] However he demanded that Madres City should not be part of it.[58] He claimed that since most of the Telugus had abandoned the claim to have Madras city in the new State, there need not be much worry over that Question. [59]

COMMISSION FOR DIVISION

Justice K.N. Wanchoo, Chief Justice of the Rajasthan High Court was appointed as the Chairman of a Commission, to consider and report, by the end of January (1953), on the financial and other implications of carving out a Separate Andhra State from the dominion of Madras State and particularly the questions arising out of not including Madras City in the proposed new state. [60] One thing was made very clear that Madras city would not on any account become part of the proposed Andhra State.

However the demand, for Madras City to Andhra State continued even after the categorical stand of the centre was made known through references made to the Wanchoo Committee. A new kind of demand emerged from some of the Telugus. A meeting of the Nellore Bar Association held on 5th January,1953 with T.V. Sivaramayya presiding, made the following demands: Madras city should be divided between the Telugus, and Tamils or the city made into a part C State (Union Territory) of India with Andhra having its capital in it along with Madras State. [61] At the same time a reasonable demand was also made. The meeting wanted Nellore to be eventually made Andhra's Capital, as it had plentiful supply of water, located on the sea-coast and offered ample scope for future expansion [62].

While addressing the 58th Session of the Indian National Congress in Nanalnagar, Hyderabad on the January 17, 1953, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made in his Presidential speech the need for marching with good heart and faith to the destiny of our Country by building up the new Republic in a more cautious, deliberate and planned way. He had the separation demand in a violent way in his mind while addressing the workers in the heart of the Telugu region. But now nobody could stop this separation idea.

The view of Mr.Nehru was echoed by the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu. We have already seen that he was not in favour of the creation of a separate state for the Telugu speaking people to be carved out of the erstwhile Madras state. However, the developments which had taken place in the aftermath of Potti Sriramulu's death, forced him to accept the demand of the Telugus. Whenever he got a chance he expressed his unwillingness for the division of the existing states on linguistic basis.

Speaking in the Madras Legislative Assembly on March 13, 1953, the Chief Minister, declared his firm conviction that the need of hour in India was not priority for linguistic state or any other division of the Country but national consolidation.[63] He further stated that the wish of the

Indian people was that" there should be a National Government of all the people, acting with one mind and speaking with one voice.

During the course of his speech devoted to the formation of Andhra state and his opposition to having Madras as its capital even temporarily, the Chief Minister said that prominent Andhra politicians were demanding Madras. But not all others in Madras of Andhra origin were like that. [64]

An explanation issued by the Government on March 25, 1953 says the areas where Tamil Speaking people were in majority were also to be included in the newly created Andhra state. [65] This explanation of the government further divided the Tamils and Telugus. Now the focus was on areas to be ceded to the new state from the erstwhile Madras state. The earlier satisfaction of retaining Madras for Tamilnadu was lost now, due to this explanation. Hence in March 1953, the Telugu districts of Madras were identified for separation. [66]

The following districts were identified as undisputed Telugu districts for the formation of Andhra state: [67]

1. Srikakulam
2. Vishakapatnam
3. East Godavari
4. West Godavari

5. Krishna
6. Guntur
7. Nellore
8. Kurnool
9. Anantapur
10. Cudappa and
11. Chittoor

Now the Tamils residing in Chittoor district felt that an injustice was done and started an agitation not to include Chittoor District in the new Andhra state.[68] This agitation was termed as 'North Boundary Agitation' (Vadakku Ellai Porattam).[69]

Apart from identifying the Telugu Districts to be formed as Andhra state few more areas was also identified. The Taluks of Adoni, Alur and Rayadurg of Bellary District were to be added to the Andhra state.[70] The remaining six Taluks of Bellary district were to be added to Andhra. Bellary was later merged with the Mysore state.[71] On the basis of a Report of the Chief Justice of Hyderabad, Laksmi Sankar Misra's Commission, Bellary became part of Mysore.[72]

The issue of identifying the areas to be included in the New State did not stop here. The issue of identifying more areas continued. The demand for areas for the Andhra State continued till the formation of a new Commission and the Re-organization of Indian States in 1956. The re-organization of the state almost ended the agitation for inclusion of new areas but the ill-feeling continued.

After the re-organization of the Indian states in 1956, The Tamilnadu North Boundary Protection Committee organized an agitation for the return of these areas.[73] To settle the issue the Union Government appointed H.V.Patsakar on a Commission.[74] Andhra also claimed certain villages on the basis of his Report which was placed in the Madras Legislature on July 25,1957 and a compromise was effected.[75] A large part of Tiruttani Taluk was given to Tamilnadu while an equally large area from Ponneri ; and Tiruvallur Taluks are transferred to Andhra.[76] This settlement didn't satisfy the Tamils. Chittoor District remained part of the Andhra state. The most useful Araniyar irrigation project was lost by Tamilnadu.[77]

Ma.Po.Si's,.Thamizharasu Kazhagam organized agitations for demanding Northern areas ceded to Andhra State from Tamilnadu on February 20,1956.[78] In this agitation called North Boundary Agitation

(Vadakku Ellai Porattam), the D.M.K. supported Thamizharasu Kazhagam and participated in the agitation along with the cadres of Ma. Po. Si. [79] The process to create Andhra State went on with the expected speed. After identifying the Telugu areas efforts were taken to make the creation in a legalized way.

On the basis of Justice K.N. Wanchoo, the Chief Justice of Rajasthan High Court, Report a meeting of the members of the Madras Legislative Assembly, representing the Andhra area was convened by the Speaker at the instance of the Government of India on June 1, 1953. [80] The issue of identifying the Capital for the new Andhra State was discussed in detail.

The demand of the Nellore People to make their place as the new capital was already in vogue. After a threadbare discussion a resolution was passed. The resolution " That the House do Choose Kurnool as the Place for locating the temporary Capital of the Andhra State" was adopted. [81] Thus the issue of the new Capital for the state was set to rest atleast for the time being.

Instead of conducting election for the new State it was decided to divide the existing members of the Madras Legislature between Tamilnadu

and Andhra state. Consequently, the members of the Madres Legislative Assembly and the Madras Legislative Council were reduced to 231 and 51 respectively with effect from October 1, 1953. [82] The other major issue of dividing officials and government properties were taken up and settled amicably. Some officials changed state voluntarily and some are asked to change places for administrative convenience. Everything went on smoothly.

Now the Creation of Andhra State Paved the way for change of guard in the Tamilnadu Government. Rajaji's exit once again not only from the government but also from the Congress Party had also occurred paving the way for Kamaraj. We shall discuss them in detail in the next chapter.

NOTES

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[15] Ibid, pp. 695-97

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid, pp..703-04.

[18] Ibid p.701.

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[20] Ibid,pp.708- 09.

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[22] The Hindu., Op.Cit , p.3.

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[34] Sengol dated May 27, 1951, (Gramani Street Shed ,Madras) p.2.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid, pp. 2-3.

[37] Rajjayan, K. Op.Cit, p. 318.

[38] Ibid. p. 317.

[39] The Hindu (Madurai), March 30, 2003, p.3.

[40] Ibid.

[41] The Hindu, Op.Cit, p.3.

[42] The Reporter, Op.Cit, p.3.

[43] The Hindu, Op.Cit, p.3.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Shanmuganathan, I.(2000) Oru Thamizhanin Parvaiyil. Erubratham Noorrandu Varalaru (Madras) p 345.

[47] The Reporter, Op.Cit, p.31.

[48] The Hindu., Op.Cit., p.3.

[49] The Hindu dated December 18, 2002, (This Day that Age, Form the Pages of The Hindu dated December 18, 1952) p.7.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid.

[54] The Hindu dated December 30, 2002, (This Day That Age, From the Pages of the Hindu dated December 30, 1952) p.9

[55] Ibid.

[56] The Hindu, dated January 6, 2003 (This Day That Age, From the Pages of The Hindu dated January 6, 1953), p.8

[57] Ibid.

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[61] Ibid.

[62] The Hindu, dated January 18, 2003 (This Day That Age, From the pages The Hindu dated January 18, 1953) p.9.

[63] The Hindu, dated March 14, 2003 (This Day That Age, From the pages The Hindu dated March 14 1953) p.8.

[64] Ibid.

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[66] The Hindu (Madurai) dated March 30, 2003, p.3.

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[76] H.V.Pataskar, Report on Boundary Dispute papers places to Madras Legislature, July25,1957, pp.15-17

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CHAPTER IV

EMERGENCE OF KAMARAJ AS THE CHIEF MINISTER OF TAMILNADU

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EMERGENCE OF KAMARAJ AS THE CHIEF MINISTER OF TAMIL NADU

K.Kamaraj who entered as a Congress worker in 1919 at the age of 16, became its State President in 1940, with the support of his mentor S.Satyamurthi after defeating Rajaji's candidate Kovai C.P.Subbaiah. From then onwards he held the Congress fort in Tamilnadu till his death in 1975. His mentor S.Satyamurthy became his secretary in the Congress.[1] He continued as the State President (through elections) till he became the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu in 1954 (except a break in 1952 when he resigned taking responsibility for Congress not gaining majority on its own in 1952 General Elections.

He should have become the Chief Minister after the 1946 election. He was elected as M.L.A from Sathur, Aruppukkottai. At that point of time in the Madras State there were three Congress Committees i.e. one for Tamilnadu, another for Andhra and the third one for Kerala. K.Kamaraj was the President of Tamilnadu Congress committee, T.Prakasam was the President of Andhra and Mathava Menon was the President for Kerala.[2] All the three presidents had met Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, (the Chairman of the Central Parliamentary Board) to get his advice to form the ministry

at Madras.[3] They were given the advice to meet Gandhiji to finalize the candidate for the Chief Ministership.

Earlier for the selection of Candidates for the Assembly election, the parliamentary Board of Madras State Congress had sent a list to Sardar Vallabai Patel. The Tamilnadu State President Kamaraj did not participate in the delebration of the Parliamentary Board Meetings.[4] The reason was obvious that he didn't want to give an impression that the candidates selected for the elections were his followers. It is because of Rajaji who quit the Congress in 1942 and rejoined it in 1945. [5] He differed with Gandhiji, Nehru, Patel and other leaders on the question of partition. [6] 'Let Muslims have Pakistan' was the view of Rajaji.[7] But now Rajaji stated in a letter to Tiruchengodu Taluk Congress Committee that the President of AICC wished him to re-join the Congress.[8] Subsequently he became a member in spite of opposition from the T.N.C.C. Working Committee Meeting resolution on September 18, 1945.

GANDHIJI'S VISIT TO TAMIL NADU AND AFTER

Apart from these developments in the T.N.C.C., Rajaji had already influenced Gandhiji through his proximity and easy access and given him a different picture about Tamilnadu politics.[9] The issue was further complicated when Gandhiji visited Tamilnadu to participate in the Dakshin

Bharath Hindi Prachar Sabha's Silver Jubilee function at Madras on January 21, 1946.[10] Rajaji also wanted to prove further and expose to the people how he was close with Gandhiji and how Gandhiji treats Kamaraj.[11] For this purpose he organized a tour for Gandhiji.[12]

Hindi Prachar Sabha's invitation to Gandhiji was not informed to Kamaraj, the T.N.C.C. president by the Sabha or by Rajaji or by Gandhiji.[13] Rajaji also did not disclose, Gandhiji's other programmes to Kamaraj, a strict secrecy was maintained.[14] On the appointed day when Kamaraj came to the Sabha Office to know Gandhiji's programme, no body was there to inform him.[15] Rajaji had already left to receive Gandhiji along with Sathyanarayana, the secretary of the Sabha and N.Gopalasamy Iyengar.[16]

Kamaraj, the T.N.C.C. President was placed in a awkward position. He didn't know how to get the news about Gandhiji's programme. Fortunately, a news reporter Ganapathy, who knew the programme, took him to Ambatur Railway station where Gandhiji's special train was to arrive.[17]

As the President of T.N.C.C., K.Kamaraj garlanded Gandhiji as the first person as soon as he arrived at Ambattur. Gandhiji also accepted his

respect with a smile and a pat on Kamaraj's shoulder.[18] However the insult to the State President Kamaraj was to continue during the course of Gandhiji's tour in Tamilnadu.

After a week's stay at Madras, Gandhiji had left in a special train to visit Madurai and Palani temples.[19] Rajaji accompanied him in the same compartment in the train. Kamaraj also accompanied him but was not invited to travel along with Gandhiji like Rajaji. Hence he traveled in a different compartment. This clearly shows the feeling of Gandhiji towards Kamaraj.

On the way at Atcharapakkam Railway station Gandhiji was given a rousing reception.[20] Gandhiji addressed the gathering and informed them about his visit to the temples in Tamilnadu. The slogans like 'Gandhiji Ki Jai' and claps had reached the high sky.[21] But when he referred to Rajaji as a great reformer by making the temples open for everybody irrespective of their caste, there was no positive response from the crowd.[22] Gandhiji understood the reason for this and from then onwards he never mentioned Rajaji's greatness till the end of his tour.[23]

When Gandhiji reached Palani, the state Congress president Kamaraj was insulted to the core. When they visited the temple only Gandhiji and Rajaji were given the special respect (Parivattam) by the

temple authorities and that traditional respect was not extended to Kamaraj.[24] After the visit to the temple they left Palani to reach Madras. The time of the departure of the train was not informed to Kamaraj and due to this he could not leave Palani along with Gandhiji. [25]

Kamaraj was able to catch the train only at Dindigul by rushing in a car till there. [26] A.Ramasamy in his book 'Gandhi in Tamilnadu' mentions that this incident was considered, an important political development by the British Government at Madras and they sent a report on this to the Central Government.[27]

During his tour in Tamilnadu, Gandhiji kept only Rajaji with him and never invited Kamaraj to travel with him in the same compartment.[28] Gandhiji never discussed politics with the Tamilnadu State President, Kamaraj, during his stay here.[29] So the visit was only to help Rajaji to regain his lost popularity in Tamilnadu in the wake of his leaving the Congress during Quit India Movement of Congress. Gandhiji wished Rajaji to become the Chief Minister and not Kamaraj.

This is further strengthened by, the statement made by Gandhiji at Besawada on his way back from Madras.[30] .Gandhiji stated that if he had the power to select the Chief Minister he would definitely give that

position to Rajaji.[31] This statement was not digested by, the Congress cadres in TamilNadu. It was further complicated by, an article of Gandhiji after reaching his ashram.

In an article Gandhiji says, "his (Rajaji's) Political wisdom and integrity are beyond question. I was, therefore, pained to find a clique against him. It is a clique that evidently counts in the official Congress in Madras".[32] He also stated that he was not a fool to think that the crowd assembled during his tour was not for him but for Rajaji.[33] He further mentions that as a loyal member of the organisaton (Congress) he would fail if he had not cautioned the people not to lose a respected leadership (Rajaji).[34]

Gandhiji's article made upheavals among the Congressmen in Tamilnadu. As a mark of protest Bandh, Protest meetings, Protest processions etc., were organized.[35] The Fortnightly Report for the second half of February 1946 also confirms such anti-Rajaji hartals.

Kamaraj who had great respect for Gandhiji felt insulted. He issued a press statement therein it was stated that, "the official group in Congress includes himself and his followers. He clarified that during recent tour in Tamilnadu he was not at all consulted on Tamilnadu Congress issues by

Gandhiji in spite of his availability throughout his tour" [36] He further stated that "except the fact that the entry in to the Sate Legislature by himself and his followers would only help Congress to further its movements. They had no other motives" [37] He firmly stated that he was not after any positions. [38]

He stated that, "as a mark of protest he would resign from the chairmanship of the Madras State Congress Parliamentary Board.[39] As per the statement he resigned from Congress Parliamentary Board Chairmanship on February 12,1946.[40] This decision of Kamaraj shocked not only his followers but also the national leaders.

The protest against Gandhiji's article continued in Tamilnadu. The political satirist Prof.T.S.Chockalingam wrote protest editorials.[41] E.V.R. also condemned the article in his "Kudiyarasu" magazine in strong words.[42] Biographers like Aladi Aruna felt that the purpose of writing this article was to stall Kamaraj from becoming the Chief Minister in 1946. [43]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the chairman of the All India Congress Parliamentary Board, asked Kamaraj to reconsider his decision. He felt that "This will (Kamaraj's resignation) certainly lead to more public controversy".[44] It was a shocking news to know that yesteryear Congress

stalwarts like Srinivasa Iyengar used the episode for their personal gains. [45] Srinivasa Iyengar who left Congress in 1929 wanted to re-enter with the help of Kamaraj. [46] He informed Kamaraj that he would oppose Gandhiji if he was given an opportunity to re-enter Congress.[47] But Kamaraj did not encourage him because in spite of Gandhiji's opposition to him he respected Gandhiji to the core.

However Gandhiji stuck to his stand. In yet another article he stated, "I know that there is such a clique in Tamilnadu against Rajaji. I am unable to definitely name one single person in it. No one need wear the cap unless it fits him.[48] The Congressmen were looking for a solution to end this controversy.

Dr.P.Varadarajulu Naidu, the respected elderly Congress leader brought this into an end. Gandhiji himself earlier requested Kamaraj to withdraw his resignation[49] A number of Congressman also wrote letters to Gandhiji, condemning his statement.[50] Pattabhi Sitaramaiah, a close confidant of Gandhiji met him in this connection and explained the facts about Tamilnadu politics. [51] He told him that how Kamaraj was responsible for the growth of Congress in Tamilnadu. Gandhiji was also told that Rajaji was strongly opposed by many in Congress in Tamilnadu. [52]

Dr.P.Varadarajulu's letter had a good effect. He told him that Kamraj is in the forefront to serve Gandhism. Gandhiji wrote him back that he would not interfere in the affairs of Tamilnadu Congress. [53] Gandhiji replied, "Alright, I will not do so. I shall not hereafter interfere". [54]

Even after Gandhiji's request for withdrawing his resignation Kamaraj struck to his decision. He did not participate in the Parliamentary Board Meetings. [55] He did not meet the Central Parliamentary Board Chairman Vallabhbhai Patel till the selected candidates for the Madras Legislative were approved. [56] However Kamaraj conducted the election campaign.[57] Rajaji was not happy about the happenings and issued a press statement on February 21, 1946 explaining his stand and announced his decision to withdraw from active role in Tamilnadu Congress. [58]

In the 1946 election the Congress won 162 seats out of 215 in the Madras Legislative Assembly. [59] The State Congress Leaders visited Delhi to decide the Chief Minister for the state. When they met Gandhiji as per the advice of Patel, they were told to consider the names of Rajaji and Pattabhi Sitaramaiah. [60] T.Prakasam's name was rejected by Gandhiji on the ground that he mismanaged in public matters. [61] Kamaraj was elected unopposed as a member of the Legislative Assembly from Sattur-

Aruppukkottai Constituency. He was respected by many in the State but was not at all considered for the post of Chief Ministership by Gandhiji.

The real feeling of Gandhiji was known to the world when Pattabhi Sitarammaniah met him on April 11, 1946.[62] Gandhiji asked him the chances for Rajaji to become the Chief Minister.[63] He told him that it was not possible. Then Kamaraj was asked to make Pattabhi Sitarammaiah as the leader of the legislature.[64] However Rajaji was favoured by, the Central Leadership.

Mulana Abdul Kalam Azad, the National President of A.I.C.C. sent a message to the State Legislative Party, asking them to elect Rajaji as the Legislative Party Leader.[65] However they were given the freedom to elect their own leader if they were not willing to accept the central suggestion.[66] By 148 votes to 38, the Madras Legislative Party rejected the suggestion of the central leadership.[67]

Now with a tacit understanding with Rajaji, T.Prakasam whose name was rejected by the Gandhiji for the post of even a minister[68] entered in to the fray. Kamaraj fielded C.N.Muthuranga Mudaliar and unfortunately the linguistic affinity over shadowed the Gandhian principle. T.Prakasam was supported by the Telugu speaking members of the

legislative party.[69] Pattabhi Sitarammaiah's supporters who were Telugus also supported T.Prakasam.[70] The English daily "The Mail" dated April 23, 1946 states that though Kamaraj supported C.N.Muthuranga Mudaliar, his supporters the Telugu speaking Congressmen voted for T.Prakasam only.

In an indirect support to T.Praksam the supporters of Rajaji remained neutral. [71] The Rajaji supporters, who were 33 in number, if they had voted against T.Prakasan as per the wishes of Gandhiji, he would have been defeated, as the difference of votes in favour of him was only eleven.[72]

NEW MINISTRIES

To irritate Kamaraj the new cabinet had some of Rajaji's supporters. Instead of Madhava Menon, the Kerala Congress President, Raghava Menon, the supporter of Rajaji was made a minister. [73] However, Kamaraj was able to make a Harijan leader J.Sivashanmugam the speaker of the Assembly. [74] The Candidature of Tennotti Viswarathom of the Chief Minister was defeated in the election. [75]

The State Congress President and a mass leader Kamaraj was denied a chance to become the Chief Minster in 1946. The political situation in the state in 1947 was a different one. Majority of the Congress Legislature

Party of the Madras Assembly were against Prakasam's leadership. [76] The Prakasam ministry was voted out at a Special Meeting of the Congress legislature party on February 28, 1947. [77] The Hindu dated March 1, 1947 says, with the support of K.Kamaraj, O.P.Ramasamy Reddiar was elected as the new leader and his ministry was in office when the Power was transferred on August 15, 1947 He was reelected in 1948 also.

P.S.Kumarasamy Raja who succeeded him in April 1949 continued till the general election in 1952. In the general election, the Congress won 152 seats out of 375, but all the ministers including the Chief Minister P.S.Kumarasamy Raja were defeated.[78] Kamaraj was elected to the Parliament from Srivilliputhur constituency.[79] The Failure of Congress to obtain majority in the Assembly encouraged the opposition parties to form a front to form the ministry. The former Congress leader and the Chief Minister T.Prakasam was elected as the leader of this United Democratic Front.[80]

RAJAJI AS CHIEF MINISTER

Kamaraj wanted to allow the opposition Front to form the ministry because he thought that it was not possible for them to continue in power for a long time due to their contradictory ideologies. [81] However the Congress leaders including Nehru did not want to allow them to form the

ministry.[82] The presence of Communist party in the Front was the reason for Congress Party to oppose this move.[83] Many Congress leaders like T.T.Krishnamachari and Ramnath Goenka believed that Rajaji could meet the challenge of the Communists and provide a stable Government.[84]

Rajaji who was the former Chief Minister of the Madras State from 1937-39, the central Minister in the Interim Ministry of Nehru after 1946 elections, Governor of Bengal and the Governor General of India was taking rest at Madras at that time. His willingness to accept the mantle was known through his friends.[85] The Congress High command also permitted him to become the Chief Minister. However Rajaji knew that without Kamaraj's whole hearted support it would not be possible to continue as the Chief Minister, hence he consulted Kamaraj in this regard.[86]

Though Rajaji was his political enemy Kamaraj, gave his consent in the interest of the Congress Party. A resolution was passed on March 29, 1952 in the T.N.C.C. meeting to invite Rajaji to become the leader of the Legistature Party. Nehru, opined that Rajaji should contest from one of the constituencies to be legally eligible to become the Chief Minister.[87] Rajaji was however nominated to the Upper House of the State on the specific recommendation of the outgoing Chief Minister P.S.Kumarasamy Raja.[88] Kamaraj was not informed of this development, beforehand.[89]

In the Congress Legislature party meeting on March 31, 1952, Rajaji's name was proposed by Kamaraj and seconded by Sanjiva Reddy and Kuttiammal and Rajaji became the Chief Minister.[90]

Rajaji accepted the invitation to takeover the Government and took steps to strengthen the Party by taking in some members, who had not been returned on the Congress ticket.[91] The Common Wheal party President Manichavelu was made a minister in the cabinet and his party's 9 Members of the Legislative Assembly, supported Congress. The United Front, as expected became disunited and could not function as a unit in the Assembly.

Kamaraj, taking the moral responsibility for the defeat of Congress in the 1952 election, resigned his Presidentship of the Party in the state.[92] Moreover, Kamaraj wanted a President who could go along with the Chief Minister.[93] April 30,1952 was fixed for the election of T.N.C.C. President.[94] Dr.P.Subbarayan a supporter of Rajaji was elected as the President.[95]

Dr.P.Subbarayan sought the support of K.Kamaraj to run the Party organization.[96] True to his character K.Kamaraj continued to work for the

Party organization as usual but without assuming any office.[97] However Dr.P.Subbarayyan, a supporter of Rajaji was not able to discharge his duty as the President of T.N.C.C to the satisfaction of the Party workers. Majority in the Congress felt that both K.Kamaraj and Rajaji should work together in the interest of the party. [98] Rajaji himself openly expressed in most of the party meetings that K.Kamaraj as the organizational head and he as the head of the Government could work unitedly without any ill feelings. [99]

Dr.P.Subbarayyan resigned his T.N.C.C Presidentship.[100] The T.N.C.C President election was fixed for December 26, 1952. [101] Rajaji now wanted M.Bhakthavatchalam as the President. [102] But K.Kamaraj announced that he was going to contest the election. [103] In the election meeting Rajaji did not appear and there was no proposal against K.Kamaraj's nomination.[104] Hence he was reelected as the T.N.C.C President.

Since 1940, K.Kamaraj continued to be a strong leader in T.N.C.C. No body could win against him till now. The 1952 election again proved that without K.Kamaraj the Party could not function effectively in the State. The next opportunity for him was to become the Chief Minister of the State in the year 1954.

K.Kamaraj did not take any personal effort in this direction. But the opportunity came due to the activities of Rajaji as the Chief Minister. Some of the policies of Rajaji went against him and resulted in the form of his losing the Chief Ministership. Immediately after taking over the leadership in the State Rajaji did some good work to benefit the people of the State. The followings were some of the achievements of Rajaji's Government. [105]

1. Opening of Free Food Centers (Ganchi Thotti) for those who were affected due to drought (It was a suggestion of Omanthur Ramasamy Reddiar, the former Chief Minister)
2. Ration scheme was abolished. To make the food grains freely available in the market, control over the food grains was abolished.
3. Prohibition was strictly implemented.
4. A solution to tenants and landlord problem in Thanjavur area was given to the satisfaction of the both the sections.

NEW EDUCATION POLICY

However the new scheme of Primary Education which was introduced by his government in July 1952, met with strong opposition from almost all quarters including his own Party people. E.V.Ramasamy Naicker's Dravida Kazhagam and C.N.Annadurai's D.M.K. utlilised this

opportunity for their political gain. The Congressmen who were dissatisfied with Rajaji's administration used this issue to remove him from the Chief Ministership of the State.

Earlier Rajaji quoting Gandhi, wanted to disband Congress Party. [106] He said that Congress had achieved Independence for the Country which was its primary aim. He emphasized that now we should dissolve the Party to fulfill the vision of Gandhi. [107] This led to the agitation among the cadres of Congress Party against Rajaji. Another issue raised by Rajaji was against those who participated in the National Struggle and received five acres of land as a token of appreciation from the Government. He wanted them to surrender the land to the Government and did not want to continue the scheme.[108] This statement again instigated the Congressmen to go against him.

Moreover, a by – election in Aruppukkottai resulted due to the resignation of Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar who had won from two constituencies. The defeat of the Congress exposed the leadership's weakness. The Congress candidate who was a woman was defeated by, Muthuramalingam's candidate. [109]

The new Primary Educational Policy of Rajaji was misunderstood by the people or people were misled by his political opponents. The Scheme envisaged a vocational education to the students of all the primary Schools in the State. The Scheme advocated shift system in the schools. While one set of students attended for half a day at schools, the other set attended the traditional occupation of their parents for the other half of the day.[110]

Rajaji was fully convinced of this scheme and defended for its implementation with full Government support. When his own partymen questioned him for evolving this scheme without discussion in the party forums he firmly replied philosophically that before pronouncing the ideologies Adisankara and Ramanuja did not consult anybody.[111] D.K. and D.M.K had accused him of encouraging students to get training in the profession of their caste. But Rajaji firmly said that he was clear in his mind that we were imprisoning the pupils too long in the class room.[112] The D.M.K branded the New Educational System as Kula Kalvi Thittam (Caste based Scheme) and opposed it.[113] They argued that this would perpetuate the caste system. E.V.Ramasamy Naicker criticized the scheme as an attempt to revive the Varnasaramadharma of the old caste system and spearheaded the campaign against the scheme.[114]

The Madras Legislative Assembly also witnessed a heated discussion on this issue. The members opposed it and demanded that the scheme should be immediately suspended. [115] In the Legislative Council also several members demanded the withdrawal of the scheme. [116] However Rajaji was not relenting and he continued to maintain that the proposed scheme will enable the children to learn better things and help them to attend school happily.

The D.M.K. started agitations against this New Educational Policy and started mobilizing public opinion against Rajaji. [117] The Party had fixed July 14,1953 as the date of their agitation against this scheme. The D.M.K. emotionalized the issue by telling the people that this scheme would result in generations of cobblers continuing to be only cobblers, hair cutters would be only hair cutters and dhobis (Washermen) would be only dhobis. [118] The Party had decided to organize people to meet their M.L.A. and request him to oppose the 'Kulakkalvithittam'. [119] It was decided by the D.M.K., to resort to picketing in front of Rajaji's house for 15 days from July 15,1953. [120]

The general feeling was that Rajaji was adamant in implementing this scheme only to help the Brahmins. [121] The Hindu's editorial also criticized this scheme very strongly.[122] The T.N.C.C. President Kamraaj

requested him to withdraw the scheme[123] the Opposition to Rajaji's continuation was growing very strong among the Congressmen and the Congress Legislators. But Rajaji refused to withdraw the scheme.

The Hindu dated February 25,1954 says, at a meeting at Madurai C.N.Annadurai accepted the fact that in spite of D.M.K.'s opposition, Rajaji was trying to implement the scheme and proposed to extend it into the cities also. He was replying to the accusation of the Communist party that the Kazhagam's struggle against the scheme failed.

In this situation a private function, at Madurai attended by both Rajaji and Kamaraj witnessed the real feeling of the latter. It was T.V.S Motor Company's Building Opening Ceremony. During the course of his speech Rajaji appreciated the policy of T.V.Sundaram Iyengar for handing over the administration of the industries to his young sons. [124] The next Speaker was Kamaraj. His Pungent remarks were highly appreciated by the public with claps. He said that the remarks of Rajaji (handing over the business administarion to the youngsters) is acceptable to him also and continued to say that if the same principle is followed by Rajaji in the administration of the State it would be appreciated by everybody.[125] Kamaraj had clearly indicated his feeling about Rajaji's administration of

the State. His intention was to save Congress Government from the Opposition Parties.

However, whenever there was a demand for voting on the Primary Educational Scheme in the Assembly, Kamaraj asked his followers not to insist for voting.[126] However Rajaji was desperate to prove his majority in the Assembly to prove that he was still holding the fort. But majority of the Congress legislators did not co-operate with him. [127] Rajaji then sought the help from the center. As expected Nehru issued a statement supporting the continuation of Rajaji as the Chief Minister of the State. [128]

A team of Congress leaders from the State visited Delhi to give a clear picture about the real political situation in the State to Nehru. T.G.Krishnamurthy, Panchatsaram Chettiar and A.M.Sambhandam were some of the members of the team. [129] Now Nehru understood the issue allowed the State unit to take the appropriate stand. [130]

After the formation of the Andhra state on October 1, 1953 the position of Rajaji became weaker. Now the majority in the Madras Assembly were against him. The path was quite clear for the emergence of Kamaraj's leadershuip. The Congress M..L..A.s in the Assembly were not only in a majority but most of them owed their tickets to Kamaraj. [131]

Rajaji found that he had lost the support of the party to continue in the Chief Ministership.

Dr.Varadarajulu Naidu was in the forefront for the ouster of Rajaji. He was threatened with disciplinary action by the Chief Minister Rajaji. [132] The rank and file were waiting to see Kamaraj as the next Chief Minister. In the meantime the Congress Legislative Party met on January 6, 1954 to discuss the issue. Rajaji requested the party not to participate in the voting and instead, he promised to resign honourably. Kamaraj asked the legislators not to participate in the voting on March 25,1954 after a long gap due to alleged ill health[133], Rajaji attended the Assembly session and announced his resignation. [134] On the same evening the State Legislative Party met to elect the new leader. Rajaji proposed the name of C.Subramanian for the Chief Ministership. [135] Kamaraj said he would support him if it is for an interim period (to face the Budget Session), otherwise he wanted election. [136]

The election was fixed for March 30, 1954, Kamaraj was proposed by Dr.Varadarajulu Naidu and seconded by N.Annamalaipillai, whereas C.Subramanian's name was proposed by M.Bhakthavatchalam and seconded by Dr.M.Krishna Rao.[137] K.Kamaraj secured 91 votes against 41 of C.Subramanian. [138] The long cherished demand of the elders was

fulfilled and the position which was denied him in 1946 was given on a golden plate to Kamaraj. The swearing in ceremony was on April 13,1954 to make Kamarajar the Chief Mninster of Tamilnadu.

NOTES

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[4] Ibid. p.100.

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[6] Patel to Rajaji, June 7, 1942, Rajaji Papers.

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[8] Saroja Sundarajan, Op.Cit, pp..624-625.

[9] Ganesan P.C., Op.Cit., p.63.

[10] Dhanuskodi-Mururga, Op.Cit., p.95.

[11] *Aruna Aladi, Op.Cit., p.95*

[12] Ibid.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Kalaimani N.V., Op.Cit, p.213.

[15] Dhanuskodi-Muruga, Op.Cit, p..96.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid p.97.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid p.98.

[20] Kalaimani N.V., Op.Cit, p.213.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Dhanuskodi-Muruga Op.Cit, p.98.

[23] Ibid .

[24] Kalaimani N.V., Op.Cit., p.214.

[25] Ibid p,215.

[26] Ibid .

[27] Ibid pp-214-215.

[28] Aruna Aladi, Op.Cit., p.99.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ganesan P.C., Op.Cit., p.63.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Gandhi M.K, Curious, Harijan, Vol.X No.1 February 10,1946.

[33] Ganesan P.C., Op.Cit., p.64.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid p.65.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

[39] Dhanuskodi-Muruga,Op.Cit., p.101.

[40] Telegram from Kamaraj to Patel, February 12, 1946 Rajaji Papers.

[41] Ganesan P.C., Op.Cit., p.64.

[42] Aruna ,Aladi, Op.Cit., p.102.

[43] Ibid p.101.

[44] Patel to Kamaraj, February 13,1946 Rajaji Papers.

[45] Aruna Aladi, Op.Cit., p.101.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Gandhi M.K, "About Rajaji" Harijan *Vol.X. No.3 February 24,1946*

[49] Ganesan P.C., Op.Cit., p.67.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Aruna Aladi, Op.Cit., p.103.

[52] Ibid.

[53] Dhanuskodi-Murugu,Op.Cit., p.101.

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[56] Dhanuskodi-Muruga,Op.Cit., p.10.

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[58] Dhanuskodi.-Muruga,Op.Cit., p.102.

[59] Krishnaswamy,S., (1989) The Role of Madras Legislature in the Freedom struggle 1861-1947 (New Delhi) p.334.

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[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid,.p.104.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ganesan P.C., Op.Cit., p.69.

[66] Ibid.

[67] Telegram from Kamaraj to Patel, April 18, 1946, Rajaji papers.

[68] Dhanuskodi-Muruga,Op.Cit., p.103.

[69] Ganesan P.C., Op.Cit., p.70.

[70] Aruna ,Aladi, Op.Cit., po.107.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Dhanuskodi-Muruga,Op.Cit., p.106.

[74] Ganesan P.C., Op.Cit., p.70.

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[85] Ganesan P.C., Op.Cit., p.75.

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[87] Ganesan P.C., Op.Cit., p.75.

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[91] Ibid..

[92] Bakthavatchalam., M., Op.Cit., p.20.

[93] Kalaimani N.V.Op.Cit., p.299.

[94] Ganesan P.C., Op.Cit., p.77.

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[96] Ganesan., P.C., Op.Cit., p.77.

[97] Ibid., p.78.

[98] Dhanuskodi Muruga.p.137.

[99] Ganesan P.C., Op.Cit p.78.

[100] Ibid.

[101] Dhanuskodi Muruga., Op.Cit., pp.299-300.

[102] Ibid.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Kalaimani, N.V., Op.Cit., pp.299-300.

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[107] Ibid .

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CHAPTER V

A MAN OF THE PEOPLE

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Throughout Tamilnadu, the selection of Kamaraj (as the Chief Minister) was acclaimed as the victory of a man of the people.[1] Surprisingly the D.K. founder leader E.V.R. also expressed happiness. For him a Dravidian becoming the Chief Minister was a great thing.[2] At Triplicane Beach (Madras) meeting he welcomed the election of Kamaraj and termed him as a 'Patchai Tamilan '(Real Tamil)[3]

The newspaper 'The Mail' opined that he would keep mum in the Assembly like the former Chief Minister P.S Kumarasamy Raja.[4] 'The Hindu' expressed the view that 'It will be no easy thing to succeed him (Rajaji). Kamaraj Nadar is a seasoned politician with a shrewd sense of his own limitations, who has so far preferred influence to power... he has no experience of ministerial office.[5] It is true, the kingmaker Kamaraj had became the king now.

'The Indian Express' however felicitated Kamaraj by stating that his election would help the legislative Congress to have a cordial relationship

with the Congress Organisation.[6] However Kamaraj proved himself, in the next nine and half years, as one of the best Chief Ministers in India.

When the question of ministry forming came he chose to make it a small team. Earlier he got an assurance from the Congress Legislature Party that they would not interfere in the ministry making process.[7] He wanted a free hand in the formation of the ministry to give the best administration to the state.

Kamaraj's ministry consisting of the following members was sworn in on the forenoon of April 13,1954, under his leadership.

The following were the members of his Ministry: [8]

1. Sri. K. Kamaraj (Chief Minister)
2. Sri. A.B. Shetty
3. Sri. M. Bhakthavatchalam
4. Sri. C. Subramanian
5. Sri. M.A. Manickavelu Naicker
6. Raja Sri. Shanmuga Rajeswara Sethupathi
7. Sri. B. Parameswaran
8. Sri. S.S. Ramasamy Padayachi

Kamaraj's cabinet had a small number of eight ministers including the five in the Rajaji's cabinet. This ministry was the smallest in the whole of India.[9] Rajaji had twelve ministers. It is interesting to note that one of the ministers C.Subramanian contested against him and another minister M.Bhakthavachalam was the proposer of his opponent. This shows the magnanimity and shrewdness of Kamaraj

The Rajaji baiters in the Congress were not included in the ministry. That shows he was not for any personalized politics. However to make Congress stronger he included the Toilers Party leader S.S.Ramasamy Padayachi in the cabinet. The sole aim of Kamaraj was to make Congress a strong party and to provide an efficient administration.

He lived one among the people and implemented the schemes needed for the people. The much-opposed 'Primary Educational Scheme' of Rajaji was withdrawn. Due to his achievements he was looked upon as a legendary figure. His quick decision making and especially spot decision making helped the people to get benefits without any bureaucratic hurdles. The vernacular press in Tamilnadu welcomed the change of leadership. They felt that it was an honour for Tamil and Tamilnadu.[10]

BY- ELECTION AT GUDIYATHAM

Kamaraj was a member of the parliament elected from Srivilliputhur Constituency at the time of his election as Chief Minister of Tamilnadu. Now he has to become a member of the Tamilnadu Assembly. He could have asked a Congress Legislature Party member to vacate a safe seat to facilitate him to become a member of the State Assembly with ease. True to his nature he wanted to contest from Gudiyatham in the North Arcot District where the by-election to the State Assembly was already due. This shows that Kamaraj depended more on his Party than his kinsmen.

The election was fixed for August 1,1954. The Communist party fielded K.Gothandaraman against Kamaraj. The enemies of the Congress Party, like E.V.R., undertook personal election campaign to see the victory of Kamaraj. C.N.Annadurai also supported his candidature by publishing supporting articles in his 'Dravidanadu' magazine.[11]

The Chief Minister did not utilize the official machinery for his victory. In fact he wanted to set good example in this election. This is evident from the official decision in connection with the local holiday for the smooth conduct of election. The Collector of North Arcot suggested to the State Government a holiday on the previous day (31.7.54) of the election date (1.8.54) for all the

Government offices and schools.[12] If, it is like today the politician would have grabbed the opportunity to declare a holiday and satisfy many to gain politically.

But Kamaraj was a different person. His policy was to use the offices however high only to serve the society. He did not want to misuse the power. Hence his Government issued a G.O. in connection with the local holiday for the conduct of the by-election with a sole aim of running Government offices to help people rather than to help the ruling party.[13] The G.O. could be used as model by the present day politicians if at all they think that their duty is to help people and not to disturb the public for the benefit of their political parties.

The above mentioned G.O after authorizing the collector to declare July 31, 1954, Saturday as holiday as suggested by him further states that on this local holiday offices from which no polling personal have been drawn should function and even other offices should, if possible, function with a skeleton staff. The Sub-Treasury in Gudiyatham Taluk should be kept open on this local holiday. This clearly indicates that Kamaraj's Government was for the people and not for the ruling party. This kind of model code could be emulated by, others for the benefit of society.

The result of Gudiyatham Assembly constituency was a clear indication of the support of the people to the government headed by Kamaraj. He won with a huge margin of 38,212 votes defeating his Communist Party opponent who polled 26,132 votes. [14] With the wholehearted support of the people for the leader and the party to which he belonged, he could concentrate on development work in the state

THE LOYAL AND SINCERE WORKER

Kamaraj was not only dutiful but also loyal to his mentors. Generally speaking after assuming power by taking the oath of office, most of the persons go to a temple, that too a very popular temple to show their obedience to the gods. But he was a different person. After taking the oath of office he straight away went to the home of his mentor late S.Satyamurthy to get the blessings of his wife.[15] The leader was showing the right way to his followers. He set the best example of a good politician. The power did not enter into his mind. The rank and file of the Congress felt happy with his activities. Satyamurthy's wife Mrs.Balasundarambal issued a press release stating that the dream of her husband had become a reality. [16]

Some people also suspected his capacity to run the government. Lack of English knowledge was considered a drawback for him to carry on the

administration smoothly. But to everybody's surprise his term in office was considered one of the best period in the whole of India. He became a model Chief Minister through his actions and policies. According to a press report he was the first person occupying the high office who told the reporters that they could visit him anytime they wanted. [17] This attitude of Kamaraj enhanced not only his image but also that of the Congress to which he belonged.

It was already mentioned that Kamaraj was responsible for making a Harijan as the Speaker of the Assembly in 1946. Now, when he became the Chief Minister he made a sort of revolution in the society by allotting the Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowment department to the Harijan Minister B.Parameswaran. By this action he made the Trustees of Tamilnadu temples to give proper respect to a Harijan. The entire Harijan Community of the state felt honoured and respected the leader and his Party. This trend continued till the end of Congress rule in Tamilnadu.

Even after becoming the Chief Minister, he continued to stay at 8, Thirumalai Pillai Road, T.Nagar, Madras which was occupied by him for rent in 1948. Till his death in spite of various top positions occupied him he stayed there and continued to meet people without any hesitation. This attitude

helped the Congress to get respect in society because people felt that Congressmen were simple living persons and easily approachable. Today the house has been converted into a memorial for him.

His success in the State made the All India Congress to fix the venue for their annual session at Avadi in Madras on January 21,1955. The last such All India session was held here in 1927. Marshal Tito, Yugoslavian President addressed the session. This session, which adopted Socialism as a policy of the Congress, boosted the image of Congress. It also helped TNCC to gain a political mileage in the state over the opponents who were accusing the Congress of being a party of rich people. Hence, Congress resolved to achieve economic freedom. [18]

Kamaraj, while seconding the resolution proposing to create a socialistic society, declared that hard work and distribution of wealth alone could eradicate poverty in the country.[19] He further declared that without a revolution by following Gandhian ideals it was not possible to achieve this. The Avadi Satyamurthy Nagar session of the Congress was a great success. Nehru personally realized the capacity of Kamaraj. It was recorded in the conference itself in the course of his speech.

One of the initial achievements of the Congress Government headed by Kamaraj was, introduction of Pension scheme to the primary school teachers in the entire state in 1954. The former Director of Education N.D.Sundaravadivelu said in an article that Kamaraj asked him to prepare a plan to give pension to Teachers.[20] This plan was later discussed in a Finance Committee meeting, headed by the Chief Minister. In this meeting N.D.Sundaravadivelu explained the plan in detail to all the members present. The plan was objected to by the top officials stating that it did not include other employees of the government who did not get pension so far.[21]

At the end of the meeting the Chief Minister asked the officials to begin a good work (granting pension) to some departments.[22] He told them that they should begin the good by granting pension to teachers first and later on to other employees of the government. He told them that if they had to wait for others also to get the benefit then it would be delayed further. Hence with the available resources he wanted to start the plan with the education department immediately. Finally it was accepted, by the committee and the pension to primary school teachers in the state was implemented with effect from April, 1, 1955.[23]

The Congress government also experimented on spot decisions in emergency situations to give relief to the people as quickly as possible. In 1955 due to a cyclone most of the Southern districts of the state were completely inundated by water. [24] In Ramanathapuram District after inspecting the losses to the public he asked the Revenue Board member who was accompanying him to grant money to the people to reconstruct their houses.[25] When the official told him that it needs estimation by the Board, he ordered him to pay from the District Fund immediately without any further delay. [26] Such quick and spot decisions benefited the public and avoided delay and corruption. The image of the Congress Party also improved due to his actions.

When he visited Thanjavur District there were complaints to him that relief was not reaching them properly. He immediately asked revenue officials to identify the beneficiaries and issued identity certificates to them in order to get the relief. [27] This bold and quick decision astonished even the officials. His main concern was the people. The benefit from the government should reach them in time, otherwise there was no use in giving them any kind of relief after some delay.

RE-ORGANISATION OF STATES

The State Re-organisation issue went against the Congress in the state. It was excellently used by the regional outfits and thereby they gained politically. It was evident in the 1957 general elections. In 1953 after separation of Andhra from Madras state the demand for reorganization of states based on language was voiced in many parts of the country.

In 1953, the Fazl Ali Commission was constituted by the center, with H.N.Kunzu and K.M.Panikkar as members to suggest ways for the reorganization of states. The commission recommended the transfer of Malabar (which includes the modern districts of Cannanore, Kozhikode and Palghat) area to the newly to be formed Kerala state and south of Thiruvananthapuram to Tamilnadu.[28] The Tamil speaking areas like Pirmedu and Devikulam were to remain with the proposed Kerala.

Earlier there was a proposal to divide the entire country into five Pradesh. The West Bengal Chief Minister B.C.Roy had openly advocated such a division.[29] Leaders like E.V.R. cautioned Kamaraj against this proposal through a telegram.[30] However Rajaji was in its favour. He was under the impression that if such a state i.e. Dakshin Pradesh was formed he would get a chance to head the administration again. The proposal Dakshin Pradesh or

Rajya scheme was welcomed by the supporters of Rajaji like M.Bakthavachalam, C.Subramanian, Mrs.Jothi venkatachalam, Ramnad Raja etc.[31] Rajaji was behind this move. He sent emissaries like Mr.C.Subramanian and Pollachi Mahalingam to get the support of people like Ma.Po.Si. [32]

Kamaraj was against this kind of reorganization of the country. He thought it would not help to give an efficient administration to the people due to its vastness. The Prime Minister Nehru understood his opposition. He didn't further proceed on this scheme and supported linguistic based states.[33] Nehru also categorically said that it would not be imposed on Kamaraj. [34]

E.V.R.'s oppositions to the creation of Dakshin Pradesh was surprising. He was a staunch advocate for the separation of the Southern part of India from the rest of the country. [35] Now instead of accepting creation of a Southern State almost equal to his vision of Dravidanadu, he opposed it and wanted Kamaraj also to oppose this scheme, this seems to be against his own policy. Perhaps he feared that if such a big Southern State is created Rajaji's domination was unavoidable. E.V.R's anti-Brahmin policy made him to oppose his own vision of creating a Dravidanadu consisting Telugus, Malayalis, Kannadigas and Tamils.

The D.M.K., which also propagated the same Dravidanadu policy opposed this scheme. In the formation years the D.M.K. had no by- laws or manifesto for their party. [36] Only after two years on December 16,1951 at a conference at Madras their by-laws (Satta Thittangal) were framed. [37] But their mentor E.V.R's policy of Dravidanadu was a pet theory for them right from their party's inception in 1949. Now they started opposing temporary period (after Nehru's) announcement of dropping the scheme they reasserted the Dravidanadu demand at their Kulithalai.(Tiruchi District) General council meeting on April 14,1957. [38]

In the meantime they openly criticized the scheme in their public and party meetings for reasons well known to them. They never felt that it was contradictory to their own declared policy. This new scheme proposed was definitely a step forward towards their policy of creating a Dravidanadu. C.N.Annadurai the founder of the D.M.K lamented at a public meeting at Triplicane on February 8,1956,that Kamaraj got some promise from Nehru for higher position like Governor for accepting to create Dhakshin Pradesh.[39] This disinformation campaign, in spite of Kamaraj's known view on this issue for not creating a Dakshin Pradesh, shows that the D.M.K. in fact feared that creation of such state would end their political life.

D.M.K. also exposed themselves on their language policy by stating in the same public meeting that Kamaraj didn't know either English or Hindi to work in such an atmosphere.[40] Unwittingly they declare that it is essential to know English and Hindi to work in an all India atmosphere. But people did not understand their double standard. Because earlier they announced agitation against learning Hindi in the state. They might have thought that a Southern State or Dakshin Pradesh with Kamaraj as the head would seal their Political activities. However, the scheme was dropped by Nehru.

It is also interesting to note that though they stood for Dravidanadu comprising all the Dravidian languages (Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam) speaking areas, they did not oppose the new scheme of the centre to divide the Country for administrative reasons on the basis of the language. The linguistic based states did not attract their attention. The reason for such a stand is known only to them. Now they supported only Tamil language contradictory to their original stand, whereas the Congress continued to stand for all languages. This stand of Congress politically cost them heavily after a decade.

Another important issue, which went against the Congress was the Fast unto death programme of Sankara Linga Nadar of the Congress Party. Since

he was a Gandhian, he chose this programme, which was very dear to Gandhi. This man from Virudhunagar was a staunch supporter of Khadi and knew languages like English and Hindi. [41] Disgusted with some of the ministers' activities and due to his interest in Tamil he wanted the Government to change the name of Madras into Tamilnadu.[42] He also had some other demands. Hence, to get an assurance for his twelve demands including the change of name for the state as Tamilnadu he started the fast unto death programme near Mariamman temple in Virudunagar.[43]

As a reaction, the Chief Minister Kamaraj simply said that among his demands many were to be accepted by the centre. [44] One of the demand was to make Hindi compulsory in all the schools in Tamilnadu. [45] There was a feeling among the Congressmen that he was undertaking this programme at the instance of Rajaji to give some problems to Kamaraj's Government. It is true that Sankara Linga Nadar spent some years at Rajaji's Thiruchengodu Ashram after leaving his family due to some domestic problems.[46]

When Sankara Linga Nadar's health deteriorated he was admitted to the Government Hospital, Madurai. On October 13,1956 he died after seventy days of fasting. His death however did not create any untoward events.

Though, his fasting was supported by C. N. Annadurai, the D.M.K.leader was satisfied with conducting condolence meetings in few places.[47]

KAMARAJ RELINQUISHING PRESIDENTSHIP

Earlier, after assuming the Chief Ministership, Kamaraj took an excellent stand of giving up the party Presidentship. He felt rightly that his administrative responsibilities would not allow him to do justice to the Party work. Hence, he wanted the party to appoint another person as the President of the party to look after its affairs. He also felt that the Chief Minister is for all the people. If he also occupies the Party President most people might think that he would favour only his party people. He set a high model for the entire nation to follow.

When the question of the next President for the party comes the party took the bold and appreciable stand of electing a Harijan, P.Kakkan, veteran Congress leader as their State President in the place of Kamaraj.[48] The election of P.Kakkan added respect to the party. Through his election a clear message was given to the people that the Congress is for uplifting the Harijans in all possible ways. Kamaraj continue to work for the party under the Presidentship of P.Kakkan.

BOUNDARY DISPUTE

The Fazl Ali Commission's recommendation of retaining Tamil speaking people dominated areas like Pirmedu and Devikulam in Kerala, became a hot issue of Tamilnadu. There was a hue and cry against it. This, decision was taken by some political parties like D.M.K. and Ma.Po.Si's Tamizharasu Kazhagam. Though, the problem was brought to the notice of the Prime Minister Nehru by Kamaraj, the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, there was a feeling that it was not pressed by him.[49]

As mentioned earlier the issue was made a very sensitive and emotional issue by the regional groups for their political gain. They accused Kamaraj of not helping Tamilnadu to get these areas from the newly created state of Kerala. Kamaraj also did not take it seriously because he might have thought that the unity of the country is more important than satisfying regional interests. His policy was to create a strong, united India. The state Legislature also discussed this issue from November 21 to November 24,1955 and passed resolution favoring the demand for Pirmedu and Devikulam to be given to Tamilnadu.[50] Under the Presidentship of the Justice Party leader P.T.Rajan, a committee was constituted with Ma.Po.Si, P.Jeevananthan, N.V.Natarajan, etc., as its secretaries.[51] The committee took a decision to conduct a hartal on February 20,1956. C.N.Annadurai (who was against Gandhi's ideology)

quoted him in his article in Dravidanadu to solicit public support. [52] Rajaji's opinion of supporting E.V.R.'s view on this issue was also quoted by him in his article. [53] The hartal decision was implemented but the solution did not come.

A propaganda was also carried out to damage the image of Congress and Kamaraj in this issue. If Devikulam and Pirmedu were annexed by Tamilnadu, then the people of Kerala would have opposed Congress was the view of some people.[54] To save Congress in Kerala these places were sacrificed was Kamaraj's shuttle campaign. C.N.Annadurai said he was not a fool to believe that these places would be given to Tamilnadu after the hartal [55]

GROWTH OF EDUCATION

The Madras State Government showed interest in developing the Primary education. Compulsory elementary education was introduced in all the Municipal areas. [56] The Madras Village Panchayats Act,1950 which was implemented with effect from April 1, 1951 gave discretionary power to village panchayats to open and maintain elementary schools. [57] It was a boost to develop the primary education in the state. The number of schools slowly increased. The number of elementary schools in the state on August 1,1954

was 21,552. [58] This was really a remarkable achievement of the state Government.

The Government was not satisfied with this growth in the field of elementary education. They pumped in whatever resources were available in the state for the growth of education. The State Government also properly utilized the schemes of the Central Government to the States in a useful and acceptable manner. The Government of India's scheme under which 3000 teachers for schoolless centers were to be appointed was well used by the State Government and opened 2800 single teacher schools were opened in the state. [59] The remaining 200 teachers posts were used for already existed higher elementary schools in the state.

As mentioned earlier the Congress Government under the leadership of Kamaraj gave the maximum attention to education. The allocation of state fund and the grant from the center were properly used to give education to almost all in the state. The poverty of the majority of the people was a stumbling block to attract their wards to the Primary Educational centers. The Congress Government devised the way to bring them to the schools.

The year 1955 witnessed a landmark decision on the part of the State Government. 'Free Elementary Education for all poor children' of the state was introduced. [60] Full subsidy to the poor and needy was a good decision to promote education. In spite of the new scheme of free education the schools were not able to attract the children to the schools. It was felt that parents were unable to provide these children food during the school days.

Kamaraj, The Chief Minister of Tamilnadu in 1956 pioneered the scheme of 'Free mid –day meals' to all the children who attended the schools.[61] It was one of the greatest achievements of the Congress Government. To honour Poet 'Bharathi' who struggled to provide education to the suppressed class, the scheme of the state was formally inaugurated by the Chief Minister Kamaraj at Ettayapuram the birth place of the Poet. [62] Professor Galbriath, the former Ambassador to India, praised the Government remarking that it was a 'Good Government', which invested in Education. [63]

PANCHAYATRAJ AND OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE DECISIONS

After the creation of the Andhra State in 1953 there were 13 District Boards, 61 Municipalities and 4596 Panchayats in the state.[64] The newly

enacted village Panchayats Act, 1950 was implemented in letter and spirit. The elections were held under the provisions of this Act in 1952 and completed in 1953. The highly appreciable administrative action of the state Government was the conduct of election to several District Boards in the states under adult franchise for the first time in the history of local body elections in 1954. It is also to be noted that elections were also held for the newly created Panchayats on the basis of Village Panchayats Act, 1950. By the end of 1954 elections to all the Panchayats (5160 in numbers except 5) were also completed. [65] Few more Panchayts were created subsequently.

Article 50 of the Indian constitution envisaged the separation of Judiciary from Executive. This vision of the drafting fathers of the constitution was fulfilled in this state with all enthusiasm and efforts.[66] Kamaraj's Chief Ministership witnessed the completion of this vision. A scheme started on October 2, 1949 in two Districts was completed on January 1,1955 and introduced in the erstwhile districts of Madurai, Tiruchirappalli and in the city of Madras. [67] This achievement of the state is laudable because it avoids the interference of people's representative in Judiciary.

The prohibition which was introduced by the Congress Government to save the poor people from becoming more poor and spoiling their family's

prospects was a good policy. The prohibition was strictly enforced by the State's administrative machinery. Earlier, the department of excise and later the department of prohibition were given the responsibility to enforce the law. Now under the Chief Minister Kamaraj, a new decision, which is being followed even today was taken to of give the responsibility to enforce the prohibition law to the Police department with effect from January 3,1955. [68] The effective punitivé measure adopted by the Police helped the decrease of crime.

Another achievement of the Congress Government was the innovative mobile courts. In September 1954, for trying the petty cases three mobile courts had started their work presided by special Honorary Presidency Magistrates. [69] These courts functioned normally from 8 a.m. to 10 a.m. to help the regular courts to start their work after 10 a.m.

The State Government, which provided enough public transport facilities to the general public also thought of certain extra facilities to those who can afford at a reasonable cost. For the first time in the state 85 baby taxies with a seating capacity of four at a flat rate of 6 annas per mile was introduced in the Madras City.[70] Bigger taxies with a capacity of 5were also allowed to run without proportionate rise in motor tax.[71] The facility was

properly monitored to avoid any untoward incident to the users. As a novel scheme in 1954, week end excursions and special buses to the tourist center Mahabalipuram from Madras city on all Sundays was introduced to benefit the tourists and local people.[72]

Another important decision of the Government in the same year was to allow the 'Meal bearers' and vegetable vendors to carry their luggage in the State Transport carriages without paying any extra fare. [73] These measures were aimed at helping the middle and lower middle class people to get the facilities at a cheaper rate. This concern of this government was appreciated by the users.

To improve the health condition of the state the Congress Government felt the need for few more Medical colleges with the available resources of the State. Madras Medical College and Stanley College, Madras were the only Medical Colleges available in the State under Government control at the time of assuming the office by Kamaraj. He immediately plunged into action and started a new Medical college at Madurai.[74] The college started functioning on July 24, 1954 and was formally inaugurated on August 2, 1975. [75] Though there was a need to start some more colleges in the state, the resources of the

State did not allow him to start few more at that time. Subsequently some more such colleges were started at various other centers in the state.

The year 1956 witnessed the change of Governor for the State. Sri A.J.John took charge from the then Governor Sri Prakasam on Dec. 10, 1956. While Sri Prakasam was in office the Sarvodaya leader Sri Vinoba Bhave visited the state to attend a Sarvodyas Samelan at Kanchi in May 1956 and visited Karattupalayam in Coimbatore District in October 1956. [76]

The Congress Government in 1956, to honour Tamil Scholars who were responsible for developing Tamil Literature recommended the name of Sri Namakkal Ramalingam Pillai along with others, to be nominated to the State Legislative Council.[77] Subsequently, he was nominated to the Upper House of the State by the Governor. On December 24, 1956 the State Assembly passed a resolution to increase the members of the Legislative Council from the existing 50 to 63 and sent the recommendation to the Government of India. [78] As per the resolution the number was increased.

After the reorganization of States in India in 1956 the number of elementary schools which were 21,552 in 1954 had come to down 20,162 as on December 31,1956.[79] The Government also took a bold Step to allow non-Harijan children to take midday meals freely with Harijan Children in Harijan

Schools in Chengalpattu, Madras, Tiruchi and South Arcot Districts in additon to The Nilgiris, Coimbatore and North Arcot Districts.[80] This helped the poor student community and paved the way for creating a casteless Society.

The Congress Government's love for the mother tongue, Tamil, was well known. Their intention was to develop and use Tamil in all spheres of administration. With this intention in mind the Congress Government introduced, with effect from May1, 1948 the use of Tamil Language in official correspondence as an experimental basis in Tiruchi District and extended its use from July 1953.[81]

To establish further, their real love for Tamil Language, the Congress Government headed by Kamaraj passed a landmark law in December 23, 1956 in the State Assembly. The Law called the Madras Government Official Language Act empowered the Government to decide on the use of the mother tongue in any department of the State. Article 345 allows the States to adopt more than one language for administrative purposes. On this basis an assurance was also given to the public that English would continue to be used along with Tamil. When the Act was introduced in the State Assembly the Government wanted the involvement of all the honourable members of the

House to pay respect to the Mother Tongue. Hence the honours of introducing Tamil in Tamilnadu went to the Congress Government headed by Kamaraj.

In spite of all these achievements and sincere administration the Congress was slowly losing its political ground in Tamilnadu. It was evident from the 1957 General Election. The result shows that a regional outfit called D.M.K. was gaining ground, which astonished the entire Congress Party.

Let us see the election of 1957 and subsequent administrative excellence of the Congress Government in the next chapter.

NOTES

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[4] Ibid .p.128.
[5] The Hindu dated April 15,1954(Madras).
[6] Aruna Aladi Op. Cit .p.128.
[7] Ganesan P.C. Op.Cit .p.82.
[8] Madras State Administration Report 1953-54,part I (Madras in 1954) (Government Press Madras 1956).p.1.
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[11] Ibid p.130.
[12] Letter from the Collector of North Arcot No.RC.F4(R) 12586/54 dated July 8,1954.
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[15] Ganesan ,P.C., Op.Cit p.82.
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[32] Sivagnanam Ma .Op.Cit p.764.
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[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid p.31.
[40] Ibid.pp.35-36.
[41] Ibid
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[43] Ibid p.137.
[44] Ibid
[45] Ibid.
[46] Sivagnanam Mo.Po.Op.Cit. p.810.

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[53] Ibid.
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[55] Ibid p135.
[56] Ibid.
[57] State Administration Report 1950-51,Op.Cit.p.52.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.p62.
[60] Ibid.p45.
[61]. Ibid.p40.
[62] Madras State Administration Report, 1953-54,Part I (Madras in 1954), (Government Press Madras) p25.

[63] Ibid.p25.

[64] State Administration Report 1950-1951, Op.Cit. p.62.
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[69] Lalitha Lakshmi Op.Cit pp.109.110.
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[77] Ibid.
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CHAPTER VI

EMERGENCE OF SUB -NATIONALISM

AND CONGRESS

CHAPTER - VI

EMERGENCE OF SUB-NATIONALISM AND CONGRESS

The Congress, which stood for the Nationalism felt the emergence of Sub-Nationalism at the cost of nationalism in the 1957 election to the Tamilnadu Assembly. This election witnessed the anti-Congress work of Rajaji and the participation of a regional Party DMK which propagated the division of this country on the basis of race in the election. They used language as an issue to gain political power. The difference of opinion among the congress leaders like Rajaji and Kamaraj was utilized by them.

The 1957, second General Election gave the indication that the Congress Party was weakening due to group rivalries, indiscipline and internal dissensions. The situation was calculatively used by, the regional party DMK. The organisational wing of the Congress Party was very weak due to lack of attention of the leadership. This reverse in Tamilnadu election was not felt by, the Congress immediately. Due to this attitude the opponents strongly gained political grounds. The Party did not realise the need for giving more attention to the organizational work.

In the meantime the regional party D.M.K. gave maximum attention to the organizational work. They struggled to succeed in starting their

organizational wings in every part of the state. Little realizing these activities of the D.M.K. the Chief Minister Kamaraj threw a challenge to the party demanding whether they could speak in the Assembly instead of making hue and cry in the public meetings.[1]

Ma.Po.Si. who was expelled by the Congress for running a parallel organization called Tamilarasu Kazhagam was also instrumental in organizing the anti-Congress groups to form a Front. He convened a meeting at G. Umapathi's house in Madras on January 1, 1956. [2] The purpose of the meeting was to discuss issues arising out of Re-organisation of states.[3] But it was a starting point to form an alliance of all the regional groups and certain individuals to contest the 1957 elections.

The D.M.K. was represented by, its founder C.N. Annadurai and its frontline leaders like Era. Nedunjezhian and N.V. Natarajan, the Communists were represented by Jiva and Mauli, the Socialist were represented by K.R. Nallasivam and the Praja Socialist by P.S.Chinnadurai, P.T. Rajaan of Justice Party, and S. Suyam Prakasam of Dravidian Parliamentary Party, A. Ratinam of S.C. Federation, Bharathidasan, C. Pa. Aditanar etc. also attended the meeting. [4]

Ignoring the demands of this group by the Congress cost reverses in the general election of 1957. Kamaraj's appeal to the people earlier not to succumb to self-interest and do service in the cause of the Nation was sidelined, [5]. He stated that the unity and National fervour, which were obtained in the fight for independence had to be maintained and so do not get dissipated but be enriched by being directed in constructive channels. [6]

Kavimani Desiya Vinayaga Pillai in an article published by Kalaikkathir had in fact cautioned the Congress Party that if it didn't take up the language issue (supporting Tami language by the state) other parties might take up this issue and get the support of the people.[7] The foresight was not taken seriously by, the Congress Party. Now it was utilized by, the opponents of the Congress Party to get political gain. In fact they succeeded to certain extent in the 1957 election.

The DMK within a short period made their Party financially strong to face elections. In 1955 the founder of this party, C.N. Annadurai proudly stated that, the party had a big bungalow (maligai) a big printing press and had plans to buy lands at Madras like the Congress ground. [8] He further expressed his wish to make more profit (Labam) through the next state conference to improve the existing facilities. [9]

D.M.K.'s ire against, the founder of D.K. and their former leader still continued. It was evident from C.N. Annadurai's statement that he and his party was not ready for any merger move with D.K. as envisaged by some of the anti-Congress legislators like comrade Suyam Prakasam.[10] He further stated that contradiction to D.M.K.'s democratic way of functioning the DK *is functioning* on the strength, popularity, experience etc. of a single person, Hence, he questioned the possibility of merger of these two organizations with different views.[11]

As envisaged by Kavimani Desiya Vinayaga Pillai the DMK used the Tamil language for their growth and to attack Congress politically. Murasoli's editorial dated December 31, 1954 criticized the D.M.K. of an equivalent of vulgarizing the Tamil language.[12] Though DMK attacked the Congress government and its policies in their public meeting, they did not publish their policy document even in 1956 when they took the decision to contest the future elections.[13] This stand was criticized by, K. Kamaraj.[14] Only in September 1956 the Party's General Council, constituted a committee to draft their Election Manifesto.[15] D.M.K.'s basic policy of not supporting Nationalism was severely criticized by some vernacular newspapers.[16]

Earlier the State Conference of DMK was convened in 1956 to discuss the election strategy. The Conference announced the decision to contest the election. A special election conference was held on February 10, 1957 at Chennai where E.V.R.'s view of calling DMK men as tear drops was twisted by word play, giving the meaning as the 'eye tears' of *the people and promised to destroyed it in the election.* [17]

The D.M.K., which depended on the language issue in this election accused the Congress of its failure to get Tamil dominated areas from the newly created Kerala State. The Congress, which stood for National Unity did not want to disturb the peace prevailing among the different sections of the society. Leaders like Kamaraj thought creating a State based on language issue would be harmful to the unity of the country.

The same view was expressed earlier by Sardar Panikkar, a member of the States Re-organisation Commission.[18] He told the youth that their first duty was to promote knowledge and warned them of the dangers of too powerful a regionalism.[19] He further said that our national culture would surely disintegrate and ,with it, our political freedom, if the basic unity of our life becomes blurred by the growth of too powerful a regionalism. [20] He also expressed the view that regional groups could

contribute to national culture only when there is a dominant national culture.

1957 ELECTION:

This kind of unity was spoiled by the propaganda and the subsequent activities of the DMK in the name of promoting Tamil language. The party began to utilise the support of Rajaji who was against the Congress, and declared that they were not in favour of partition and they were not against the Brahmins.[21] C.N. Annadurai himself met Rajaji and accepted these conditions for his support to D.M.K..[22] C.N.Annadurai asked when he blamed the Brahmins and declared that he would not blame them in future and he further stated that D.M.K. demanded only Self Rule and not partition.[23] However immediately after the election, in a meeting at Madras C.N. Annadurai said Anti-Brahmin problem and partition were the lifeline of D.M.K. and declared that they were not innocent (Appavi) as thought by Rajaji.[24] Now that the election was over they were free to say anything they wanted.

The D.M.K. fielded candidates in 112 constituencies and the Congress in all the constituencies (205), in the 1957 general election to the Tamilnadu Assembly.[25] The D.M.K.'s declared Policy of casteless society

suffered a set back in this election when its founder C.N. Annadurai wrote his name in the nomination form with a suffix 'Mudaliar' indicating the caste to which he belonged. [26] He himself accepted this matter during the Assembly Session on May 7, 1957.

There was an accusation against D.M.K. that they directly and indirectly supported Mirasdars.[27] In support of Mirasdar (landlord) V.K. Ramasami Mudaliyr of Congress Reform Committee, in the Uttaramerur constituency the DMK withdraw its candidate. [28] The D.M.K. also supported the open supporters of Mirasdars (landlords) like P.T. Rajan and Congress Reform Committee members and Mirasdars like Venkata Krishna Reddiar, L.S. Karaiyalar etc.[29] This stand of D.M.K. was contradictory to their declared policy of opposing landlords and supporting the landless.

'Jana Sakthi', a vernacular magazine accused D.M.K. of using 27 cars in C.N. Annadurai's constituency in Kanchipuram.[30] E.V.R. the founder of D.K. also accused D.M.K. of accepting funds from one A.T. Shriram, a Bombay based businessman and publishing 50 types of multi-colour posters in the election. [31] E.V.R. said in a Public Meeting at Madras beach on April 8, 1957 that the amount was finalized by the D.M.K. leader, N.V. Natarajan at Ganapathiya Pillai house. [32]

In the 1957 General Election to the Tamilnadu Assembly, the Congress which contested all the seats (205) won 153 of then[33] i.e., 73% of the seats were won by them. They also pulled 45.3% votes. [34] The D.M.K.,which contested 112 seats won 15 of them with 14.6% Votes.[35] The Chief Minister Kamaraj was elected from Sattur constituency. All the ministers of his cabinet were elected.

C.N. Annadurai, the founder of D.M.K., (who was once defeated in Madras Corporation Election, when he contested from Pethanayakkan Pettai to become a councillor as a Justice Party Candidate) was elected from Kanchipuram Constituency.[36] M.Karunanithi was another winner from Kulithalai Constituency in Tiruchirappalli District.[37] Other prominent winners were A.V.P.Asaithambi from Thousand Light Constituency K. Anbhazhagan from Egmore Constituency, and S.V. Mutu from Perambur Constituency, all in Madras City. [38] The Party's other winners were from Salem (2), North Arcot (3) and South Arcot (4), Districts.[39] The D.M.K. drew a blank in Thanjavur, Madurai, Kanyakumari, Tirunelveli, The Nilgiris and Coimbatore Districts.

The Congress won more than two third majority in the Assembly. Their victory was for their good work done in the last few years in office.

However they were unhappy over the victory of the separatist group D.M.K. in 15 Constituencies. Though the number was not threatening, their presence in the Assembly was not acceptable to the Nationalists. They felt that electing members belonging to separatist tendencies would affect the National Fabric to a great extent due to their regionalistic outlook.

After the election Kamaraj continued as Chief Minister with a very small Ministry. The following is the list of Ministers. [40]

1. Sri K. Kamaraj (Chief Minister)
2. Sri M. Bhakthavatchalam
3. Sri C. Subramanian
4. Sri M.A. Manickavelu
5. Sri R. Venkataraman
6. Sri P. Kakkan
7. Sri V. Ramiah
8. Srimathi Lourdhammal Simon.

For the first time in the history of Tamilnadu Cabinet a woman was appointed as Minister. P. Kakkan who was the State Congress President was included in the Ministry. A great moment of Victory for Gandhi's ideology was the allocation of Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowment

Department to a Harijan. By allocating this department K. Kamaraj practiced the ideology of Congress to develop the Harijans and to treat them as equals in society. Another remarkable thing was the inclusion of R. Venkataraman, a Brahmin, in the Ministry. His inclusion in the Ministry gave a hope to the Brahmins that Kamaraj was for social harmony.

The following was the position of parties in the Tamilnadu Assembly after the 1957 General Election.[41]

Speaker	- 1
Congress	- 152
Indian National Democratic Congress	- 22
DMK	- 15
Communist	- 4
Praja Socialist	- 2
Socialist	- 2
Independent Group	- 2
Progressive Independent Group	- 3
Independents	- 2
Total	- 205

The new period witnessed the introduction of the unified National Calendar, based as the Saka Era with effect from March 22, 1957 with Chaitra as first month of the year, having 365 days and 366 days in a Leap Year.[42] From April 1, 1957, the decimal coinage systems without altering the value of Rupee came in to circulation.[43] Naya paise replaced Anna System. Now 100 Naya Paise becomes One Rupee instead 16 anna .

MUTHUKULATHUR COMMUNAL CLASH

Another important event, which occurred during the Congress rule under the Chief Minister of Kamaraj was the Muthukulathur communal clash of 1957. Muthukulathur in the Ramanathapuram District witnessed the unwanted communal clash between the Thevars and the Harijans from July to September 1957.[44] Muthuramalinga Thevar, the former Congress leader and now the founder of Forward Bloc was a leader of the Thevar Community. Anything against him was viewed as on slight on the entire Thevar Community. Hence the 1957 communal clash where in Muthuramalinga Thevar himself was implicated was not digested by the entire Thevar Community. However the Congress Government headed by Kamaraj simply wanted to follow the rules and did not want to support any particular Community in this event.

Communal clash in this part of the state was also not a new thing. The rivalry between the Thevars and the Harijans were resulted in some clashes in some earlier occasions. Earlier in April 1955 there was a tension between the Harijans and the Maravas in Ramnad and Paramakudi Taluks.[45] This was duly informed by the Paramakudi Taluk Congress Secretary through a telegram and also in a letter to the Minister of Public Works, Raja Sri Shanmuga Rajeswara Sethupathi belonging to the District and also to the Chief Minister Kamaraj. [46] The Secretary's letter in fact accuses the Communist Party for the tension between the Pallars and other Communities.

Incidents of Harjans attacking Maravars at Kulathur Village in Ramnad and the Agamudaiyars attacking Harijans at Panaiyur were reported on April 18, 1955 and cases were filled in this regard.[47] On April 20, 1955 evening, a Nadar Community person of Kadukkavalasai was attacked by two Harijans and as a result the caste Hindus of Kusavankudy, Valantharavai, Kalukkurani and Vairavan Koil had attacked 4 Harijans on the next day. [48] Nearly 9 persons were arrested in this connection and few Harijans were to be arrested for this incident. It was also reported that the youths of Vanniyal were attacked for misbehaving with Marava Women. [49] The M.L.A. of Paramakudi, Govindan in a letter dated April 28, 1955 also accused the communists for these incidents. Harijans also wrote letters to

the Minister about the incident. [50] Hence, the tension between the Harijans and the Thevars was simmering even before the Muthagulathur incidents.

Now in 1957, it was reported that the clash between Thevars and Harijans was the aftermath of an election issue. [51] Apparently the Thevars wanted to take revenge against the Harijans for not supporting their Forward Bloc Candidate in the bye-election held.[52] In the subsequent incidents both the Community people were attacked, their houses were demolished, huts were burnt and nearly 14 people were killed belonging to both the communities.[53] There was no end to this communal tangle.

To maintain peace and order the District Collector of Ramanathapuram convened a Peace Committee meeting under his chairmanship at Ramanathapuram on September 10, 1957.[54] Muthuramalinga Devar represented the Thevar Community and Immanuel, a Harjan leader, represented the Harijans. [55] Apparently the Thevars did not accept Immanuel as a representative of the Harjans. T.L. Susivarna Thevar, Muthugulathur M.L.A., while participating in the Assembly debate on this issue confirmed these objections.[56] Due to this objection the meeting convened by the District Collector did not yield any result in stopping the violence let loose by both the communities.

The next day, i.e. September 11, 1957, Immanuel who visited Paramakudi to participate in a function in connection with poet Bharathi was murdered around 8.30 p.m. [57] It was suspected that the murder was due the previous day heated argument with Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar and his serious objection to Immanuel becoming a signatory to the peace agreement. Violence broke out once again due to this murder. The police took efforts to control the situation.

When the Police entered into a Thevar dominated Village, Kil-Thuval to conduct an enquiry, it is reported that the police team was attacked by, the Thevars. [58] The Police opened fire and five men were killed. The Government defended the Police action stating that it was a self-defence measure and the villagers on the other hand accused the Police for the incident.[59] This incident was used by, the Political enemies of Kamaraj for their Political gain. They accused the Congress Government for the shooting, stating that it was an unprovoked incident.

To find out the actual fact the Congress Government appointed an enquiry Commission. S. Venkateswaran, I.C.S. Member, Revenue Board, conducted the enquiry. [60] He visited Paramakudi and met the affected parties and submitted his report to the Government. His enquiry report said

the accusation against the Police was not correct, and the shooting had taken place only to defend the police from the mob attack. [61]

The issue didn't stop here. The opposition parties especially the Communists wanted to make this into a big issue. A no-confidence motion was introduced by the Communist Party in the State Assembly on October 28, 1957 and the debate went on till the last day of the month. [62] They accused the Congress for the incident. It was argued that the Congress wanted to finish Muthuramalinga Thevar politically, because of his anti-Congress stand and this shooting incident had taken place to suppress his supporters. [63]

T.L. Sasivarna Thevar, M.L.A. of Muthugulathur, participated in the debate and alleged that Harjans were instigated by, the Congress because of their social enmity against Mr. Muthuramalinga Thevar for opposing the Congress Government.[64] Another M.L.A. Mookaiah Thevar argued that Thevar Community people were not against the Harijans. [65]

Mrs. Sathyavani Muthu, who spoke on behalf of D.M.K. tried to establish that the argument of Immanuel with Muthuramalinga Thevar in the presence of the District Collector was the real cause for the murder of Immanuel. [66] C.N. Annadurai, the founder of D.M.K. demanded a judicial

enquiry into the incident of firing. [67] He refuted the allegation that D.M.K. and he himself had a close contact with Muthuramalinga Thevar and praised Immanuel as a great fighter and a martyr.[68] At the same time he said the shooting should have been avoided. Earlier there was an accusation against the Nadar Community people for instigating the Harijans against the Thevar Community. Surprisingly C.N. Annadurai defended the Nadar Community people and his speech was in favour of them. He said the Nadars would not have done this. [69]

However the DMK didn't participate in the voting. Perhaps they were not ready to antagonise the Harijans by opposing the Congress Government. At the same time they were also not ready to oppose the Thevars tooth and nail. Hence they took a very clever stand of boycotting the voting. This was indicated by the D.M.K. even during the debate. Earlier C.N. Annadurai expressed the wish to avoid participating in a debate like this in the Assembly.[70]

The treasury bench argued excellently in this issue. The star speaker was the Congress member R. Srinivasan Ayer. He argued with evidence to prove that the Thevars were instigated by, Muthuramalinga Thevar by quoting his speech at Sayalkudi where he wanted his people to attack the police with confidence even if it resulted in a death of one or two.[71] He

further argued that the number of Harijan houses burnt were 2735 where as it was only 107 in the case of the Thevars and the number of Harijans killed were 17 and it was only 8 among the Thevars. [72]

At last the no-confidence motion was defeated by 146 votes against 28 in the government's favour. The D.M.K. did not participate in the voting. The Government promised to improve the economic position of the people of Ramnad District in order to improve their social status. The Government as promised in the Assembly undertook some welfare measures in the Ramanathapuram District to improve the position of both Thevars and Harijans. However the Congress baiting continued by the opposition parties for their political gain.

CONGRESS CONTINUED ITS WORK

The D.M.K. continue to propagate their separatist policy even after entering into the State Legislature. They went to the extent of publishing a map of India where the whole of South India was shown as one state called Namnadu. [73] The Party made an appeal to the Public to observe 'Dravidian State for Dravidians' week from September 17, 1958 to September 23, 1958 to propagate their ideology.[74] They also, as usual, gave misinformation to the people to tarnish the image of the Congress.

Sometimes the people were carried away by their calculated disinformation technique. Era. Chezhian who in his later Political career joined the National Party i.e. Janatha Party in an article published in October 1958 stated that the Neyveli Lignite Scheme would not come to Tamilnadu. [75] He informed the Public that injustice was done to Tamilnadu by investing all the foreign aid and loan in the northern part of the country. [76] In fact the Neyveli Scheme was one of the greatest achievements of the Congress Government in Tamilnadu.

Another solid example of their double standard was their view on Kattabomman, a nineteenth Century Poligar who fought against the British and was hanged and Pulithevan, another Tamil fighter against the British authoritarianism. C.N. Annadurai, the D.M.K. founder stated that the research on these personalities would not be useful and he said it was unnecessary also. But they were glorified by the same party in later years to gain political advantage from the Communities to which they belonged.

Kamaraj continued to blame them for their role in politics along with other Congress leaders. The Congress accused them as Separatists, anti-Brahmins and atheists.[77] But such campaigns were not effective to erase them from the Political scene of Tamilnadu. Moreover the Congress still had the hope that the people would not support such people and

continue to support the nationalists for their sacrifice during the freedom struggle.

However unmindful of these false campaigns of the opposition party, the Congress continued to work for the welfare of the state. It is to be remembered that even before anybody thought of it, this state launched with the blessings of Mahatma Gandhi, a programme for the development of the Community in 1946 itself, in the shape of Firka Development and continued the scheme until 1953 when this work was amalgamated with Community Development Programme.[78] The Government started a Co-operative spinning Mills a first venture in Tamilnadu at Tirunelveli with a contribution from the State Handloom Weavers Co-operative Society's contribution of Rs. 15 Lakhs towards the share capital.[79] There were proposals (and later became realities) to start Heavy Industries like thermal Plant and Fertilizer Plant at Neyveli, Aluminium Plant at Salem District, Photographic Raw Film Factory at Ooty to augment the economic growth of the state.[80]

D.M.K.'S VICTORY AND LOSS:

Another important political development in the state was the formation of a Political Party by Rajaji to oppose the Congress Government and its policies especially in Tamilnadu. The hate-Congress

policy of Rajaji whenever it did not favour him finally shaped into a political party. A Conference of like minded people was convened by him at Hotel New Woodlands, Mylapore, Madras in June 1959. [81] The new party was called 'Swatantra Party'. The primary aim of this party was to defeat the Congress at any cost. That is why they aligned with separatist parties like D.M.K. in the elections with a vague promise from them not to insist on separatist and casteist policies.

The D.M.K.'s Victory in the 1959 Madras Corporation councillors election gave a real shock to the Congress. Out of the 100 seats in the Corporation the D.M.K. won in 45 places. [82] There was an understanding with the Communist Party by the D.M.K. to capture the Mayor post at Madras. The D.M.K. promised the support to them to capture the Chairmanship at Coimbatore Municipality. As per the understanding A.P. Arasu became the first D.M.K. Mayor of Madras[83] and V. Munnusamy followed him as the next Mayor. The D.M.K. M.L.A. and the party whip in the state assembly, M. Karunanithi claimed that he was given, a golden ring for the victory at a Public meeting at Madras by C.N. Annadurai.[84].

The Congress was able to win only 37 out of 100 Council seats. They satisfied themselves with the role of opposition. But they realized

that the loss in the corporation election would affect their chances of retaining power in the state in the long run. But again they failed to plunge into an immediate action plan to revitalise the party organ to face any political challenge.

The D.M.K. however continued their work to get the support of the people at any cost. They were ready to accept support from any quarter. They, told the people that the voters who voted for D.M.K. need not support their ideology. [85] They did not realize that they were after power by saying this view. The above mentioned, speech was made by none other than their Frontline leader, Nedunchezhian at Thuthukkudi. Their founder, C.N. Annadurai went one step further by stating that he was not ready for any agitation to achieve their primary aim creating a Dravidian State. [86] In this speech at a South Madras Public Meeting he told the Party people that the need of the hour is only to improve the strength of the party in the State Assembly. [87] These statements clearly indicate that for capturing power, the D.M.K. was ready for any compromise.

Due to these activities of the D.M.K. some of its frontline leaders like E.V.K. Sampath, Kannadasan etc were disgusted with the Party's activities and left the party on April 9, 1961 and formed a new political Party called Thamizh Desiya Katchi (Tamil Nationalist Party)[88]

Palaniyandi, M.P. Subramanian and Nedumaran were some of the other leaders who sided with Thamizh Desiya Katchi. E.V.K. Sampath who became its founder President severely criticised the D.M.K. in the 1962 general election for fielding Nangil Manoharam as the candidate for the South Madras Constituency, because he said, the D.M.K. is a double standard party and that by fielding a Malayalee they forgot their Tamil Chauvinism.[89]

They could not run the Party for a long period and their inclination towards nationalism naturally made them to join the Congress Party.[90] Though there was no great enthusiasm among the cadres of Congress, Kamaraj admitted them into the Party.

The 1957 election made one thing clear to the Congress Party. Kamaraj who became the Chief Minister again felt the need for a newspaper to propagate the Policies of the party and the Government to the people.[91] In 1958 Kamaraj asked, Muruga Dhanushkodi to explore the possibility of starting a newspaper and the title 'Thainadu' (Mother Land) was selected for the paper.[92] Due to unavoidable reasons it was not launched. In 1960, a newspaper called 'Navasakthi' was started as an official organ.[93] The mouthpiece of the Congress, Nava Sakthi, though supported by the sympathizers of the Congress, could not match the total

Press support enjoyed by the Anti-Congress lobby. The Tamil Weekly 'Ananda Vikatan' was the only supporting magazine the Congress enjoyed at that point of time. [94]

The second term of Kamaraj witnessed the sudden demise of the Governor of the state Sri A.J. John on October 1, 1957. The Chief Justice of the Madras High Court, Honorable Justice P.V. Rajamannar assumed the charge and continued in office till the take over by the Governor Sri Bhisnuram Medhi on January 24, 1958. [95]

DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES

The most memorable event of Kamaraj's rule was the visit of Acharya Vinobha Bhave to the state in 1956 to propagate Bhoomidhan Movement (To get land from the land lords as a gift and distributing them among the landless people). [96] Kamaraj, the Chief Minister went along with Vinobhaji to all the villages by walk to show respect to the great National Leader and the disciple of Gandhiji and also to express his concern for the Poor People. [97] This enthusiasm shown by the Congress Government had a great impact on society. Vinobhaji appreciated the command of Kamaraj over the masses. Thousands of acres of land were donated by the landlords and were properly distributed for the needy. Later

on to regulate donation of land and for transfer and settlement to the poor the Congress Government enacted a law, 'The Madras Bhoodan Yagna Act, 1958 [98](Madras Act XV of 1958). A state board to implement the provisions was created and vested land and management of lands, was handled by Sarvodya Panchayat in Gramdhan Villages. The great ideology of Vinobhaji was made a reality by the Congress Government through these Constructive activities.

The year 1958 also witnessed another important decision of the Congress to help Muslim minority people to maintain religion related properties in a right way. On February 1, 1958, the Government constituted a Wakf Board for this purpose. An Advocate, S.K. Ahmed Meeran was nominated chairman with eleven members. A secretary was appointed by the Government, in consultation with the Board with effect from July 1, 1958 and he would be the Chief Executive Officer. All the Muttawalis of Wakf were required to register with the Board. This was a welcome measure and this Scheme continues to date.

Another historical event of the Congress Government was the enactment of a law for regulating the local Self- Governments. Madras Panchayat Act, 1958 (XXXV of 1958) was enacted and elections were held at Panchayat level and also in the Urban Centres. This new Act created the

Second Tier of the Panchayat Raj i.e. the Panchayat Union at Block levels with effect from October 2, 1960.[99] Thus the earlier Panchayat Act of 1950 ceased to exist in respect of Panchayat unions. The elected representatives were given the freedom to conduct the administration of their local bodies in accordance with the rules of the newly enacted Panchayat Act of 1958. District Development Councils (D.D.C.) in the place of District Boards were constituted from January 1, 1960.[100] Now the D.D.C. had ex-officio, M.L.A., M.P and P.U. Chairmen as members headed by the District Collector. To improve the slums of the cities the Government constituted a city Improvement Trust at Madras. As per the Slum Clearance Scheme formulated by the Government of India in May 1956, the slums were improved by utilising the loan (50%) and subsidy (25%) extended by the Centre.[101] This action of the state Government helped to improve the condition of the slum dwellers of the city.

The Congress Government showed some more interest in the field of Tourism. Earlier they introduced Taxis and weekly excursion trips to Mahabhalipuram at Madras. In April, 1958, a tourist Bureau at Madurai was opened under a Tourist Officer.[102] The Government of India agreed to share half of the cost of running this Bureau to help Foreign and Indian tourists. Proper guidance to tourists in all respects was arranged. This measure helped to develop the Tourism Industry to a new height. The

interest shown in this field during 50's is really a appreciable action of the Congress Government. The Government also involved in providing interstate Transport facilities to the Commuters. A direct Bus service to Bangalore from Madras on a reciprocal basis was introduced on August 1, 1959 by the Madras State Transport Department. [103] New long distance routes like Madras to Tiruchi (Route No. 103), Madras to Salem (Route No.105) and from Nagerkoil to Tiruchi and Coimbatore with usual reservation facilities were introduced. The state during this period was maintaining good relationship with the neighboring states. The Southern Zonal Council consisting the Chief Ministers of all the southern states met several times to discuss matters of common interest. In 1958 two such meetings were held in this Zone.[104] Tamilnadu hosted a meeting at Ooty in the Nilgiris District and Kerala convened another meeting at Thiruvananthapuram. Due to this approach most of the minor issues were settled among the states without any friction.

The most memorable event was the visit of the Prime Minister to the state in March 1960 to inaugurate the Power House No. 1 at Kundah Power Project in the Nilgiris District. The Governor received him at Sulur Airport in Coimbatore and accompanied him along with the Chief Minister. It was the beginning of development Programmes on a large scale in the state.

Apart from improving the formal education for the development of the state, a new Scheme of 'House Delivery of Books' through van was introduced at Madras to make the Public Libraries very popular in the State. [105] For an additional subscription (0.25 Naiya Paise with a caution deposit of Rs. 5/- per book) books were distributed to the members through tricycle. Another, innovative scheme of the Congress Government, 'Library Service to patients ' in Government Hospitals was implemented by the local Library Authority. [106] This scheme was in vogue at Madras, District Head Quarters Hospital, Chengalpet and also in the Tuberculosis Sanatorium at Tambaram in Chengalpet District and Perunthurai in Coimbatore District. These measures of the Congress Government had gained popularity and there was a considerable increase in membership in public Libraries throughout the state. The Government's encouragement and help to read more at convenience helped to develop knowledge in society which would inturn help the state to grow.

It is worth mentioning the Milk Colony, Madhavaram at Madras. The Congress Government realized the need for producing more Milk and also to regulate the cattle farming in the Madras City. The Government wanted the people to involve more in cattle farming scheme. They

announced that the Government would provide a well maintained cattle shed at a lower fee for the Public in a hygienic way. They also promised cattle food in such Centres at no loss no gain basis. Hence the first unit for 500 Milch animals was inaugurated by the Union Minister for Food and Agriculture in October 1959.[107] The Chief Minister, Kamaraj inaugurated *facilities for 1500 more on September 27, 1960 and 2000 more milch* animals were accommodated later. There was a good response to this Scheme. The Government issued licenses to the owners and registered them in the Milk Colony as regular users. This Scheme helped to produce more Milk and also made the city clean. To market the milk produced here the Government procured the entire quantity of Milk and supplied to the public through Rural Co-operative supply societies throughout the state later on this Milk colony became one of the major milk producing, units in the state.

The Congress Government did excellent development work without expecting anything in return from the Public. Their only concern was to develop the State at any cost. They did not think in terms of vote in the election. In fact politicians were not involved in these development activities. The Government did the work in a planned manner. They also got heavy industrial schemes for the state using their political clout for the state. The Second and Third Five Year Plans were fully utilized to make

the state industrially powerful. Earlier through the First Five Year Plan a great boost was given to agriculture by constructing major Dams and Canals for producing electricity and improving agricultural activities.

Let us see some of the major achievements of the Congress Government during the late 50's and early 60's. The early 60's also witnessed the further decline of the nationalist tendencies and the growth of regional groups due to various factors. These things are to be discussed in the next chapter.

Notes

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[2] .Sivagnanam,Ma, Po, Op.Cit..p.761.
[3] .Ibid.
[4] .Ibid.
[5] .Madras Information (1954) Vol.VIII, No.5, (Director of Information and Publicity, Madras) p.3.
[6] .Ibid.
[7] .Sakthi (April 1954), Malar:18, Elhaz:6, (1156, Mowbrey's Road, Madras-14) p.2.
[8] Thambi (Political Weekly) Malar:2 Eanam:9, Elhaz:33 dated June 4, 1955 46 Vilangiamman Koil Street, chidambaram),p.4.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Samaran, Malar:2, Elhaz:35 dated January 9, 1955, (146, Thukkam Palayam Street, Kumbakonam), p.4.
[13] Thi.Mu.Khazhagam: Arasiyal Katchiya? Ariajaga Gostiya? Mayilainathan (June 1957), (11, Ranganatha Puram Street, Madras-4), p.4.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid., p.13.
[16] Boat Mail (Tamil Weekly) Malar:1, Ethaz:3, dated September 3,1956, (Vanamalai prem, vepery, Madras), p.1.
[17] Karunanithi,M., Op.Cit.., p.285.
[18] The Hindu dated March 2004 (This day that Age, From the pages of the Hindu dated March 1, 1954), p.9.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Mayilai Nathan Op.Cit. p.29.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.
[25] Aruna Aladi, Op.Cit. p.140.
[26] Mayilainathan, Op.Cit. pp.27-28.
[27] Ibid., pp.24-25.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid, pp.25-26.
[30] Ibid, p.4.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Madras State Administration Report 1957-58, Part II, P.12..
[34] Aruna, Aladi, Op.Cit.., p.140. .
[35] Ibid.
[36] Samaneedhi Anna Malar, (1996), Special Editor M.G.R and Editor Sornam, (156 Lloyds Road, Madras-14),p.56.

[37] Karunanithi, M., Op.Cit.., p.295.
[38] Urimaimurasu, Tamil Monthly (May 1,1957) Honorary Editor S.Suryaprakasam M.L.A., (Thiruverambur Trichirappalli), p.16.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Madras State Administration Report, 1957-58. Part III, Op.Cit. p.1.
[41] Ibid p.12.
[42] The Madras Information, (1957), Vol. VI No 4, (Director of Information and Publicity, Madras) p.15.
[43] Ibid p.23.
[44] Aruna, Aladi, Op.Cit. p.141.
[45] Public (General A (1955) Department, M.S Series G.O.No.2277 dated July 20, 1955.
[46] L.No.G3/5563/dated April 27, 1955 from DSP to DIG, G.o.no.2277, Ibid..
[47] G.O.No.2277, Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ganesan, P.C, Op.Cit. p.98.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Aruna Aladi Op.Cit. p.141.
[54] Ibid.
[55] Ganasan,P.C.Op.Cit. p.98.
[56] Madras Legislative Assembly Proceedings (1957),Vol.V., p.149.
[57] Aruna Aladi Op.Cit. p.143.
[58] Ganesan,p.c.Op.Cit. p.98.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid p.99.
[61] Aruna Aladi Op.Cit. p.142.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid, pp.142-143.
[64] Ibid, p143.
[65] Ibid, p.144.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.. p.145.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.,p.144.
[71] Ibid., p.146.
[72] Ibid., p.147.
[73] Namnadu,.D.M.K.'s official organ Editor Era.Nedunchazhian dated September 1958.
[74] Murasoli, Editor M.Karunanithi, dated September 19,1958 p.7.
[75] Ibid., pp1-2.
[76] Murosoli, Op.Cit. dated November 28,1958.
[77] Aruna Aladi, Op.Cit. p.235.

[78] Greatest Happiness for the Greatest Number an article by the Chief Minister K.Kamaraj Madras Information, Volume XIII (1959) No.2, Director of Information publication, Madras), p.3.
[79] Madras Information, Volume XIII No.1 Op.Cit. pp 8-9.
[80] Madras Information, Volume XIII No.2 Op.Cit. p 13.
[81] Sivaganam Ma.Po, Op.Cit. pp.874-75.
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[83] Ibid.
[84] Karunanithi., M.Op.Cit. p.359.
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[86] Tamil Murasu, Murasu:1, Arasu:38 dated June 5, 1960, p.5.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Kalaimani N.V., Op.Cit. p.375.
[89] Thannatchi Weekly, 'Editorial dated January 12,1962, p.1.
[90] Karunanithi, M., Op.Cit. p.375.
[91] Dhanushkodi Muruga, Op..Cit.,p.85.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid.
[95] Madras State Administration Report, 1957-58 Op.Cit, p.1.
[96] Kalaimani N.V., Op.Cit. p.346.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Madras State Administration Report 1957-58 Op.Cit. pp.174-175.
[99] Madras State Administration Report 1958-59 part I (Madras) pp.126-127.
[100] Madras Information, Volume 2, Op.Cit.., p.22.
[101] Madras Information, Volume XIII (1959) No.7, (The Director of Information and Publicity, Madras) pp.19-20.
[102] Madras State Administration Report, 1958-89, Part I Op.Cit. p.187.
[103] Madras Information (1939), No.9, Op.Cit.., p.2 serial p.no.34.
[104] Madras State Administration Report 1958-59, Op.Cit. p.198.
[105] Madras State Administration Report 1960,p.178.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.,pp-218-219.

CHAPTER VII

HIGH ACHIEVEMENT AND LOW RETURNS

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HIGH ACHIEVEMENTS AND LOW RETURNS

The greatest achievement of the Congress Government was in the field of education and industries. Kamaraj's Government did a great service to the society by promoting education, especially primary education in the state. The very first thing his Government did was the introduction of free elementary education in 1955 for all the children hailing from the poor families.[1] Within a short period he saw to it that every village with a population of three hundred had a school. Education, which was the monopoly of the upper castes and the aristocrats, became an easily accessible commodity for the common people. The Congress Government headed by Kamaraj made this educational revolution in Tamilnadu possible.[2]

The number of Primary Schools in 1954 in the state according to Madras state administration report 1953 – 54 was 21, 552 with a student strength of 29, 63, 778.[3] The enrollment of students rose considerably to 38.02 lakh in 1961.[4] In 1962 the number increased to 30,020 and the enrollment was 42, 26, 820.[5] In the High schools also the enrollment rose to a higher level. In March 1960 the number of students registered for

S.S.L.C. was 57,398.[6] The trend of increase in the number of schools continued. At the end of 1964 the numbers of elementary schools in the state was 30, 397.[7] From the academic year 1964 – 65 education in the secondary schools was also made free by the Government.[8] Earlier the free education system introduced by the Government through the G.O. NO. 637, Education dated March 28, 1959, was extended only to the poorest section of the society. In 1960 those children whose family income was less than Rs. 1200/- in a year alone were eligible for free education. [9] Later on the amount was enhanced to Rs. 1500/- and the children of teachers, Police and last grade Government servants (N.G.O.s) were also included in this scheme. [10] The aim of the Government to increase the strength of the schools was slowly achieved and the poorest section of the society was also happy to send their children to the schools.

The next important step taken to improve education and to attract more poor children to the schools, was the Government's pioneering of 'The Free Mid-day Meal Scheme' in 1956.[11] To ensure the continuation of this programme the Government wanted more money to be generated. Now a new idea emerged in the mind of the Government and hence, with the blessings of the Central Government the state was able to get some foreign aid. The CARE organization offered wheat, milk powder, cooking Oil to

help the mid-day meal centers. [12] The aid from U.S.A. was able to attract the poor children to the schools in large numbers.

The Government also thought of giving grants to the school to make this 'Mid-Day Meals Programme' a great success. It is to be noted here that from November 1957, the Govt. granted six naya paise per meal to all the elementary schools, which had a mid-day meal centre.[13] Kamaraj wanted to extend this scheme of free education and free meal to all the students up to the level of S.S.L.C. This feeling was expressed by him in a public meeting, at Thuthukkudi where he declared that his Government would definitely extend the free education and mid-day meals scheme in all high schools. [14]

Kamaraj was the first Chief Minister in the whole of the country to implement Article 45 of the Indian constitution by providing free and compulsory education to children below the age of 14. He was not satisfied with free education alone. Thus emerged the new idea of introducing uniforms in all the schools in the state. The Government wanted to remove the difference between the rich and the poor in the school campus. They wanted to maintain a feeling of equality among the children in the school. [15] The Government not only introduced uniforms but also supplied them to the children free of cost. Free uniform to poor students, was introduced by the Government. The year 1960 was an important year for the people of

Tamilnadu, because it was from this year that education, as promised by the Congress Government, was made Free up to S.S.L.C.[16] G.O. No. 1373, Education, dated June 7, 1960 was issued for this purpose.

Within a short period the Congress Government was able to increase the number of schools in the state to an undreamt of level. The Government made English Language Compulsory from V Standard. There was a genuine need of funds to provide the basic facilities to all the schools in the state. The schools in the rural areas were the real sufferers. They conducted their classes under the shade of trees and sheds. The sanitary condition in these schools, were highly deplorable and even minimum teaching equipments were not available to impart education. To overcome these problems the Government introduced 'School Improvement Scheme' in 1958, to improve the conditions in schools by involving the public living in that area.[17] The Government encouraged people to donate whatever was possible to improve the condition of the rural schools.

This people's movement gained momentum through conferences and motivation. In the first two years nearly 133 conferences were held and nearly Rs 6.47 crores was colleted as donation for this school Improvement Scheme.[18] The scheme, which was dear to the Chief Minister, Kamaraj attracted the people and hence there was a voluntary involvement. The

people's contribution to the school improvement was requested through Government orders. The state became a model state in the field of education due to the earnest effort taken by the Government.[19] The President of India Dr. Rajendra Prasad and the Prime Minister Nehru were fully satisfied with the work done by the Congress Government and paid tributes to the Chief Minister Kamaraj for these achievements.[20]

Due to these efforts enrollment in the schools reached to a higher level. More than 3 lakhs additional students were enrolled and as a result 6,600 new teachers were also recruited.[21] The free education scheme of Tamilnadu made the state to become number two in the whole of the country in terms of literates. The amount spent in the field of education by the Government also increased to an appreciable level. By 1962 the amount allocated for education in the Budget was around Rs. 26 Crores, which was nearly one fifth of the state's revenue.[22] In 1963 out of Rs. 127.19 Crores revenue to the state Government Rs. 27.58 was allotted to education.[23]

The pension scheme for teachers of primary schools introduced in 1955 was now extended to the teachers of High Schools from April 14, 1958 and later on College Teachers also got this benefit.[24] This revolutionary Pension Scheme introduced by the Congress Government in Tamilnadu was followed by the other states of India in later years.

Kamaraj understood the need to keep the teachers in a good frame of mind to get them to dedicate themselves to the field of education.

The opposition party D.M.K. which was controlling the Madras Corporation in a token of appreciation to the excellent work done by the Chief Minister Kamaraj, made arrangements to install his statue at Madras (near Periyar Bridge and the Cosmopolitan Club).[25] The then Mayor of the Corporation, Worshipful V. Munnisamy arranged the function to unveil the statue of Kamaraj by the Prime Minister of the country Nehru on October 9, 1961.[26] This event clearly indicates the great respect Kamaraj had in the society especially among the opposition party.

In the field of higher education also the Congress Government showed great interest. In 1954, when Kamaraj became the Chief Minister of the state, there were two universities (Madras and Annamalai), 40 Colleges for general education for men and 16 Colleges for general education for women.[27] There were 5 Engineering Colleges excluding a department under Annamalai University, a Veterinary College, an Agricultural College and a Forest College run by the Central Government.[28] The State also had Polytechnic Colleges at Madras,Madurai and Coimbatore. By the end of 1958,the number of Arts and Science Colleges rose to 58 and Polytechnic Colleges to 17.[29] The Salem

Municipal College was now taken over by the State Government. [30] The Government also started specialized Technological Colleges like the Leather Technology, Printing Technology and Film Technology Colleges at Madras.

The Development of Higher Education continued till the end of the Congress rule in 1967. Let us discuss some of the achievements in the field of higher education in the later pages with more details. One thing was very clear regarding this Government, the aim was to make the state fully educated to face any kind of challenge and also to make use of their knowledge to alleviate poverty and to make Tamilnadu economically stronger. With this sole motto the Government did lot of things for education.

SUPPORT TO AGRICULTURE

The next important area that attracted the attention of the Congress Government was Agriculture. They realized the saying of their great header Gandhiji that the real life in India is in villages. The only major economic activity in the villages was agriculture and allied industries. Providing basic necessities for the agricultural activities is the basic duty of any welfare Government. Irrigation facilities had to be provided to the maximum extent possible. For this purpose the state Government started

construction of large dams, check dams, canals, ponds, tanks etc. to make agricultural activities in the villages easy. When they realised that the naturally available water in the rivers and tanks were not sufficient for agriculturists, they wanted to help them to get the subsoil water from the maximum depth possible.

If it is ordinary tanks or wells, they could use them with the help of bullocks or man power. To get water from deep wells now they had to install electric motors. Hence the Government had to provide electricity to them. First they have to produce more electricity and then it had to be taken to all the villages in the state to make their life happy by providing them with electricity in their agricultural field itself. The Congress Government was responsible for most of the irrigation facilities available to-day to the farmers of this state. When Kamaraj was the Chief Minister some of the major Schemes like Lower Bhavani, Manimutharu, Cauvery Delta Projects, Canals, Arani River, Vaigai Dam , Sathanur Dam, Kelathalai Canal, Upper Puzhal Scheme Valyaru Scheme, Mangalam Scheme, Krishnagiri Dam, Pullambadi Canal, Vidur Dam, Paramikulam – Aiyaru Scheme, Neiyaru Scheme etc were completed for the benefit of the ryots (farmers) and to boost agricultural activities in the State. Throughout the state number of small irrigation projects were executed for the benefit of the ryots.

It is true that the British Administration was responsible for some of the existing irrigation schemes in Tamilnadu. As early as 1889 for the benefit of the erstwhile Tirunelveli District Ryots Srivaikuntam Anaicut was completed along with Cauvery Delta Scheme to give benefits to the erstwhile Tiruchi District.[31] In 1891 Barur Anaicut (Tank) for the ryots of Salem District and Meha Mathur Anaicut for the benefit of the then south Arcot ryots were completed.[32] The year 1893 witnessed the completion of Viridhachalam Anaicut and Perundurai Anaicut and Chembarambakkam in Chengelpet District.[33] The Marudur Anaicut in the erstwhile Tirunelveli District and Kalingarayan Anaicut in the erstwhile Coimbatore District were also completed in the same year.[34] Thadapalli Canal and Arakankottai Canal in Coimbatore District under Kodivere Anaicut Scheme were completed in 1893 and 1894 respectively.[35]

The erstwhile South Arcot District benefited from Thirukoilur Anaicut and Sethiathope which were completed in 1895 and Palur Anaicut was constructed in 1896 to give benefit to the ryots of Chengelpet District and erstwhile North Arcot District along with Cheyyar Scheme which benefit the North Arcot District ryots.[36] The major irrigation scheme, the Periyar System (Dam), which was completed in 1897, benefited a large number of ryots in the erstwhile Madurai District.[37] The other Schemes

completed before independence for boosting agricultural activities in this part of the Country were Poiry Anaicut (for erstwhile North Arcot ryots) completed in 1897, Lower Coleroom Anaicut (1903) for the erstwhile South Arcot and Thanjavur District ryots, Thozhudur Regulator (1925) for the erstwhile South Arcot ryots, Kattalai (1926) for the erstwhile Tiruchirappalli District ryots, Cauvery Mettur Dam Scheme (1934) for Thanjavur ryots and Kodayar (1934) for the Kanyakumari District ryots.[38]

After Independence the state felt the need for some more schemes to increase the agricultural produce. New schemes were evolved and immediate action, was taken by the Congress Government. The role of the Chief Minister Kamaraj in these schemes was remarkable. He was a man of action. Hence with renewed vigour few more irrigation projects in the State were implemented for the benefit of the ryots and to increase the production of food grains to a higher level to meet the growing demand.

The earliest irrigation project completed in Tamilnadu after Independence was Kaiyar Extension Peruchannai Dam, which was completed in 1953 for the benefit of the ryots of Kanyakumari District.[39] For the benefit of the ryots of the erstwhile Coimbatore District the Lower Bhavani Dam was completed in 1955 to feed water to a large area.[40] The Araniar project was completed in 1957 to give the benefit to the erstwhile

chengelpet District.[41] Irrigation was allowed from August 1, 1958 for around 5000 acres of agricultural land, from the Krishnagiri Reservoir Project for the erstwhile Salem District Ryots and the Vaigai Dam – Thirumangalam Main Canal was also opened in 1958 to benefit the ryots along with the Amaravathi River project which was completed in the same year and the main canal was opened on August 1, 1958.[42]

Other major irrigational schemes were also under progress during this period. The aim of the Government was to increase the cultivable lands to provide for more food production and thereby alleviate the poverty of the people. It was a successful story due to the sincere efforts taken. The farming community was happy because of the irrigation Projects. Kamaraj, the Chief Minister of the state took special interest in the welfare of the Cauvery Delta Farmers. In 1956, the Government issued orders for the implementation of New Kattalai High level Canal Scheme in the uplands of Tiruchi and Thanjavur Districts.[43] Another Canal, the Pullambadi Canal Scheme took off above the upper Anaicut and was also started for the benefit of the Tiruchi District ryots.[44] The Vaigai Dam Project was completed in 1959 for the benefit of the erstwhile Madurai and Ramanathapuram District ryots and it was inaugurated on January 21, 1959.[45] The previous year witnessed the completion of Manimuthar Scheme for the benefit of the ryots of the erstwhile Tirunelveli District.[46]

The Mettur Canal for the benefit of the Salem District ryots was completed in 1959.[47]

Another innovative scheme of the Congress Government was the Parambikuam Aliyar Project which was implemented with an agreement with the Kerala State Government.[48] Under this Scheme of the second Five-year plan, water flowing from Anamalais Hills in Western Ghat was to be diverted before emptying in to the Arabian Sea. Along with the irrigation Project, Power was also to be generated. Seven dams including Parambikulam, Thirumurthi and Sholiyar were started in November 1958 and by 1960 nearly sixty percent of the work was completed at an estimated cost of Rs. 2.4 Lakhs for the benefit of the ryots of the Coimbatore District.[49]

Due to these developmental activities for the benefit of the ryots to improve the agriculture produce in the state, the irrigated area under cultivation was also increased to a new level. According to the Madras State Administration Report for the year 1964 the total area irrigated by canals, tanks, wells, springs etc. in the state was 2,517,986 hectares. The Government not satisfied with the schemes already implemented and the projects under progress, wanted to execute some more schemes. Hence, the Government took special interest to maintain rain forests in the state. In

1964 the total Reserve Forest area in the state was 17,236 sq. K.M., which works out to 13.2% of the total land area of the state. [50]

Apart from regular forests, the Village Panchayats also maintained forests. Now all Panchayat forests in the state were transferred to the control of the Forest department except six Panchayats in the erstwhile Madurai District. [51] They were Pudur, Pallapatti and Moongilpatti in Madurai Division and Sengurichi, Gollapatti and Thadeyampatti in Dindigul, Usilampatti division.[52] The question of transfer of these forests was under correspondence and the consideration of the Government.

The maintenance of forest cover in the state for creating an atmosphere to get normal rains, proper and regular maintenance of existing irrigational facilities like Dams, Check Dams, Tanks, Ponds, Canals, Wells etc. and construction of such new facilities to improve the agricultural activities in the state by the Congress Government led to the phenomenal change in the field of agriculture. Ryots were happy that the basic facilities were provided by the Government for, their, agricultural activities.

The need for finance was also looked after the Government to the maximum possible extent. Agricultural Co-operative Credit Societies were

created with the Co-operation of the rural public for extending finance in the form of loans, short term and long term, with low interest rate. The Government's intention was to help them buy manure, quality seeds etc. for producing more grains through modern agricultural techniques adopted by the ryots.

Another novel method in the farming activities encouraged by the Government was the Co-operation Farming Scheme in the state. Seventeen Joint Farming Societies (including 7 in 1960) with a total membership of 815 and a paid up share capital of Rs. 36,768 were created for this purpose. [53] Nearly 2,095 acres of land were pooled for this purpose and by the year1960 nearly 1352 acres of land was cultivated with Government loans to the tune of Rs. 2.39 lakhs to these societies. [54] Due to these facilities and interest shown by the Congress Government this novel method, was successfully implemented by the members of these societies to make more profit. Another scheme of the Government i.e. creation of collective farming society was also put it to practice. Two such societies, one at Avanam, another at Perungudi in the erstwhile Thanjavur District and one more at Kallampalayam for the Hill Tribes called Irulas of the Nilgiris District by leasing 100 acres Forest land with loan and subsidies for 196 members with a share capital of Rs. 2962 were also started by the Congress

Government to help all sections of the society to improve agriculture in the state.[55]

To encourage private participation to a large extent the Congress Government encouraged the ryots to patronize the Co-operative movement. The Co-operative Agricultural Banks provided long-term loan with a subsidy of up to 25% to the ryots to dig wells in the villages. This loan facility with subsidy scheme encouraged the ryots to involve themselves in constructing wells to augment agricultural activities. They were also given loans to purchase oil pumps and electric motors.[56]

Due to the earnest effort taken by the Government large areas of uncultivated lands were brought under regular cultivation. During Kamaraj's Chief Ministership nearly 150 lakhs acres of land were added to the existing cultivable lands.[57] This was a remarkable achievement of the Congress Government in the State. Out of these cultivated areas, nearly 56 lakh acres of land were provided with regular irrigation facilities through various means.[58] From 1957 to 1961 more money was allocated for small irrigational system and more than 2000 large wells were constructed.[59] The Congress Government also encouraged Scientific Research activities for the growth of agriculture. The Aduthurai Research Institution

established in 1922 became an important Research center with grants from center, state and also from Ford Foundation of U.S.A from 1953.

GENERATION OF ELECTRICITY

The Congress Government also felt that it was the duty of the Government to provide electricity to the villagers to install motor pumps to extract ground water for agriculture purposes. Producing more electricity would enable the Government to provide this facility to the ryots. Hence, now the attention of the Government was concentrated on producing more electricity. For this purpose a number of power projects were conceived and implemented in a planned manner.

Hydro-Electric Power Plants were first established by the British Government. In the Mettur Reservoir a Hydro – Electric Power Plant was commissioned in 1935 to generate electricity. [60] Subsequently some more power plants were also installed to increase power generation in the State. Pykara Hydro- Electric Power Station in the Nilgiris District was one such major project in the State. A small power generation station for a specific purpose was also installed. The Kattary Hydro-electric power station in the Nirlgiris was installed to supply electricity to the Cordite Factory established at Aruvangadu on the Ooty – Coonoor Road. Pykara third

stage was commissioned and an extension work in the scheme was in progress in 1954 says the Administration Report for 1954.

As already mentioned Kundah Hydro-electric power House was inaugurated by the Prime Minister (accompanied by the Governor and the Chief Minister of the State) on March 26, 1960 in the Nilgiris District. The Power Horse No.2 of Kundah was commissioned in June 1960 and other projects in Avalanche and Emerald in the same District were also in progress during the same year. [61]

The Periyar Hydro-Electric Power Scheme which was completed, during Kamaraj's administration along with Kundah projects and the newly extended Madras Thermal Electric Power schemes helped the Government to extend power supply to all the villages in the State. Kothaiyar Hydro electric power station in Tirunelveli District was started in 1963. Tamilnadu became the leading State in the country in supplying electricity to the villages for domestic and agricultural purpose. By the year 1964, more than 2,13,180 pump sets were given electric connection for agricultural activities.[62] Due to these activities the rural economy was placed in a sound position.

In 1953, the electricity generated in this state was 148,300 K.W whereas within a short period of 10 years i.e. by 1963 the electricity

generation rose to 560,700 K.W. [63] This nearly fourfold increase in the Generation helped agricultural as well as industrial growth. In the first five-year plan period in the Madras State only 1813 villages were provided electricity facilities but by the end of Third Five Year Plan 14, 128 villages were provided electric connections. [64] Now the State was leading in improving agriculture and industries and this enhanced the economy of the State. The Congress Government also got sanction to start an atomic energy plant.

INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

The trend continued in the field of industries also. The Congress Government simultaneously showed interest and worked in the right direction to develop industries. Cottage, small- scale, medium and Heavy industries were started in large numbers to boost the industrial growth in the state.

The aim of the Government was to make the State highly industrialized, in order to generate more employment opportunities and to make the State economically very strong. The new concept of Industrial Estates was started in number of places.

Some of the notable major industrial projects were Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited or High Pressure Boiler Plant at Tiruchi, Heavy

Vehicles Unit at Avadi, Madras, Hindustan Photo Films or Raw Film Factory at Ooty in the Nilgiris District, the Neyveli Lignite Project, Ordnance Factory and Heavy Alloy Penetration Project in Tiruchi, sanction for a steel factory at Salem, Surgical Instruments Factory. Guindy, Madras, Integral Coach Factroy, Perambur, Madras, a Military Cloth Factory Avadi, Madras, Hindustran Teleprinter at Madras, Oil Refinery at Manali near Madras, Aluminium Factory at Mettur near Salem and number of Industrial Centres in the Districts of Madras (Guindy), Madurai Virudhunagar, Tiruchi etc. The State now became a major industrial state in India.

Private participation in the industrial growth of the State was encouraged to a maximum level. They were motivated to invest capitals in the much needed industries like paper, textiles, cement, sugar etc. The Congress Government enacted a new legislation called State Aid to Industries Act and provided loans to the industries.[65] The progress in this field was obvious.

The Congress Government which believed in socialism, made earnest efforts to start heavy industries through public sector companies. The cordial and influential relationship of the Madras Congress Government headed by Kamaraj with the Central Government helped in many ways to make the State industrially very strong. The Madras

(Perambur) Integral Coach Factory with the knowhow of Switzerland made it possible to provide job for around 10,000 people with an investment of Rs. 12 Crores. [66] This Railway Project also helped the State's entrepreneurs to start large number of small-scale industries producing things needed for this scheme.

The Neyveli Lignite Corporation started with an investment of Rs.160 crores in 1956 generated 250 M.W. electricity in the first phase. [67] Thousands of people got employment opportunity due to this scheme. The Hindustan Photo Film Industry at Ooty in the Nilgiris District with an investment of Rs.11 Crores and the Hindustan Teleprinter Industry at Guindy, Madras also had provided employment to thousands of people in the state.

The Defense Ministry's projects like Small Arms Factory and Heavy Alloy Penetration Project at Tiruchi and Heavy Vehicle Factory and Cloth Manufacturing Factory at Avadi, Madras were a real boost to the industrial growth of the state.

The surgical instruments manufacturing scheme at Guindy, Madras with an investment of Rs.5.25 Crores was started with the technical know-how provided by the erstwhile U.S.S.R.[68] The Congress Government guided by the Chief Minister Kamaraj was mainly responsible for the establishment of the Boiler Industry at Tiruchi. The Government provided

1800 acres of land along with other basic infrastructure facilities and the Rs.25 Crores project became a reality.[69] This major industry by providing employment to around 10,000 people changed the economic status of the state. Industries were also started by private industrialists to feed the needs of this industry. Due to these industrial activities the related industries like housing, transport, lodging etc., also developed to a great extent in the districts of Tiruchi and Thanjavur.

The Government was also responsible for starting Tamilnadu Industrial Investment Corporation to encourage private entrepreneurs to start their industries with a share from the Government.[70] This corporation also granted subsidy to such industrialists. A loan was extended on a very low interest with long repay period.

The Congress Government conceived the idea of starting Industrial Estates in the Districts. It provided the basic infrastructural facilities to those who were willing to start industries in such Industrial Estates. To start with nine such estates were established in places like Guindy (Madras) Madurai, Virudhunagar, Tiruchi etc.[71] These industrial estates functioned successfully. Hence during Third Five Plan period thirteen more such industrial estates were established throughout the state to boost industrial activities.[72]

In Ambattur (Madras) a different kind of Industrial Estate was established. The Government allotted 1200 acres of land for this purpose and encouraged entrepreneurs to start small, medium and large scale industries in the estate. [73] Now due to these facilities available more industries had come into existence. The basic requirement for, the industries were provided by the Government. This successful scheme made the Government to start one more such industrial estate in the state. The Congress Government allotted 622 acres of land at Ranipet to start this type of industrial estate. [74]

The Congress Government following the Gandhian ideals also wanted to start industries in the co-operative sector. Spinning Mills, Sugar Factories and Tea Industries were started in the co-operative sector. To finance these co-operative ventures, Madras State Industrial Co-operate Bank was started by the State Government. Small Scale Co-operative societies, Handi-Craft Co-operative Societies and Sericulture Development Co-operative Societies were also, started by the State Government in large numbers. Spinning and Ginning Mills, Foundaries and other kinds of industries were started in large numbers at Coimbatore. Now due to the fast industrial growth, this city is known as the Manchester of South India. Such was the growth in industrial sector in Tamilnadu during the Congress rule after independence. The trend continued up to the middle of 1960's. In the year 1963, the number of industries in Tamilnadu was 6,365 with a

working force of nearly 3,52,563[75] According to the Madras State Administration Report, 1964, the State ranked third among the States of the Indian Union in respect to the number of Industrial Establishment and employees.

In the private sector also numbers of industries were started. A Transformer Factory at Madras, Electrical Switches and Fuse Distributor Factory at Pallavaram, Madras, a pig iron Plant at Ambattur, Madras a Structural Factory at Pattabhiram, Sugar Factories and T.I Cycles Factory Madras with expanded capacity, were some of the factories encouraged by the Congress Government in the State. These industries hoped to generate more employment opportunities and also improve the economy of the state.

Now the responsibility of the State Government had increased. The Government had to regulate all the Industrial Establishments. Exploitation and deviation from rules had to be curbed. Needed basic protection had to be provided to the employees working in these industrial establishments. Hence the Congress Government conceived some new legislations to regulate the industries and to give some protection to the working class. The following were some of the important Acts enacted by the Congress Government.[76]

- Madras Shops and Establishment Act, 1947.
- The Factories Act, 1948

- Minimum Wages Act, 1948 (Cotton, Ginning and Processing, Bricks and Tiles, Match and Fire Works, Coir, Salt, Hosiery etc.,)
- Plantation Labour Act, 1951.
- Madras Beedi Industrial Premises (Condition of Workers Act, 1958.
- Madras Industrial Establishments (National and Festival) Holidays Act, 1958.

The above mentioned, Acts were only a few examples of the concern of the State Government for creating the healthy industrial atmosphere in the State.

1962, ELECTION

When the Third General Election was held in 1962, the Congress Party headed by Kamaraj placed their achievements during the past seven years, before the public and sought their support to continue their rule in Tamilnadu.[77] The State received the maximum benefit under the Second Five Year plan due to the efficient and Corruption-free administration of Kamaraj and reached the number three position in the industrial development of the states as already mentioned. Hence the supporters of the Congress were under the impression that the Congress Party was growing strong. But Kamaraj realized that in spite the good work done by

his Government, the support he received from the splinter group of D.M.K. who formed new political outfit called 'Tamil Nationalist Party' headed by E.V.K. Sampath, Kannadasan etc. and the whole hearted support extended by E.V.R., the Congress was slowly loosing ground and the separatist party D.M.K. was gaining more support. [78]

Kamaraj wanted to defeat the D.M.K. in all the 15 constituencies it had won in 1957. He gave special attention to these constituencies in 1962 and was able to defeat D.M.K. in all these constituencies. Their leader C.N.Annadurai himself was defeated in his home constituency Kanchipuram. The Congress, which contested almost all the constituencies, had won 139 seats. [79] The strength of the Communist Party was considerably reduced in this election. They won only 4 seats. [80]

However the D.M.K.'s win in other 50 constituencies out of 143 constituencies was a great shock and surprise to the Congress. Its electoral partner, the Swatantra Party of Rajaji also won 6 seats. [81] The D.M.K. had also won 7 Lok Sabha seats in Tamilnadu and its founder C.N.Annadurai who was defeated at Kanchipuram assembly constituency was subsequently elected to the Rajya Sabha from the Tamilnadu Assembly Constituency. [82] The Congress Party polled 46.14 percent of votes and the D.M.K. polled 27.10 percent votes in this election. [83] The victory of D.M.K. in terms of seats and percentage of votes made Congress a

disturbed Party. Its leader Kamaraj worried about the growing influence of the separatist Party D.M.K. in the State of Tamilnadu. He wanted to do something to arrest this trend in this state. Though the decline of the Congress in the just concluded general election was a national phenomenon, the Tamilnadu leader felt the need for some drastic step.

There was a feeling that the indiscipline prevailing among the Congressmen was mainly responsible and they worked against their own candidates in this election. [84] The Congress government lost its contact with the people. There was a wide gulf between the Congress and the people and its Party was losing touch with the masses. [85] The former Chief Minister of Tamilnadu M.Bhakthavatchala attributed this position in this state to the fact that there has been neglect in the building up of the Congress Organization in Tamilnadu after the Congress took power.[86] He further stated that one must be happy and proud about the reputation, which the Congress administration had won in Tamilnadu. But this could not be lasting.

The five-year plans were well formulated and carried out by the Tamilnadu administration and it was universally acclaimed as sound and salutary. [87] M.Bhakthavatchalam says that for the running of a party government under the parliamentary system of democracy sufficient attention to the organization is a sine qua non. [88] The Congress President

was no longer the prominent person in the state as the Chief Minister had emerged as an outstanding leader. It was not satisfactory and it had accounted for the defeat of the Congress at the polls. [89] This he says is one of the weaknesses that has, crept in with the organization.

The 1962 general election and the victory of D.M.K. in 50 seats in Tamilnadu was very keenly watched by the political pandits. The leading journals of the country expressed their opinion in very clear terms through their journals. The Times of India opined that D.M.K. may in a year to come wrest power from the Congress. [90] It also expressed the view that the Congress instead of posing a defensive posture against D.M.K. should boldly expose the dangerous demogogic nature of the D.M.K.'s political platform so that it could defeat D.M.K. [91] The Economist published from London described D.M.K. as "the separatists" and opined that the working class were also responsible for its win in 1962 elections. [92]

An article by S.K.Rao expressed the opinion that the formation of Andhra and separation of Kannada speaking areas and Malabar from this state might probably be one of the reasons for D.M.K's success in the 1962 elections.[93] He further stated that Nehru had all admiration for Kamaraj and Madras was undoubtedly the best administered State in the Indian Union. In spite of all these plus points in favour of the Congress Government it was defeated in 50 constituencies by the D.M.K. This result

was a clear indication for the Congress that the worst was to come. But they realized it very late.

The D.M.K., though it won 50 Assembly seats in the 1962 elections could not digest its defeat in all the 15 constituencies it had won in 1957 and especially the defeat of their founder leader C.N.Annadurai. The Party's leader C.N.Annadurai stated that the complacency of the party workers was mainly responsible for the defeat of D.M.K. in these constituencies.[94] The feeling of the workers that the elected representatives alone were enough to work in the election field rather than the party's election committee had an effect on the results.[95]

C.N.Annadurai, the D.M.K. founder who won with a margin of 11,143 votes against his Congress rival in 1957 election lost the 1967 Assembly election with a margin of 7,190 votes in the Kanchipuram constituency.[96] M.Karunanithi another leader of the D.M.K. who won from Kulithalai (in Tiruchi District) constituency in 1957 had changed his constituency to Thanjavur in 1962 for the reasons best known to him and won the election with a slender margin of 1928 votes.[97] The defeat of C.N.Annadurai was a great shock to the party cadres. Their victory in 50 constituencies was a great event for the party. The victory gave them a hope for a bright future for their party.

The 1962 General election results of the state Assembly and the Parliament made the other political parties in Tamilnadu to realize one thing i.e. they had no political future if they contested alone without aligning either with Congress or the D.M.K.

The following is the position of Parties in the State Assembly after the 1962 election.[98]

Congress	-	138
D.M.K.	-	50
Swatantara Party	-	6
Forward Bloc	-	3
Communists	-	2
Socialists	-	1
Independents	-	5
Total	-	205

The result of the Parliamentary election held in Tamilnadu in 1962.[99]

Congress	-	30
D.M.K.	-	7
Communist	-	2
Forward Bloc	-	1
Total	-	40

The above shown result clearly indicates that though D.M.K. won considerable number of seats, the position of Congress was not weak in the Assembly or their share of members elected to Parliament was not low. But their real worry was the growing influence of the Separatist Party D.M.K. in Tamilnadu. They felt that this trend would affect the nationalist feeling in the state and might pave the way for separation of the State.

After the 1962 election the new cabinet again headed by Kamaraj for the third time assumed office. The Governor Vishnu Ram Medhi asked Kamaraj to take over the Chief Ministership on the basis of his election as the leader of the ruling party. This time 9 Ministers including himself took the oath of office. This was the smallest ministry again in the whole country.

The members of the new cabinet assumed office in March 15, 1962.[100] The following were the Ministers of the new cabinet.[101]

1.	Mr.K.Kamaraj	Chief Minister
2.	Mr.M.Bhakthavatchalam	Minister
3.	Mr.R.Venkataraman	Minister
4.	Mr.P.Kakkan	Minister
5.	Mr.V.Ramaiah	Minister

6.	Mrs.Jothi Venkatachalam	Minister
7.	Mr.Nallasenapathi Sarkarai Mandradiar	Minister
8.	Mr.G.Bhuvarahan	Minister
9.	Mr.S.M.Abdul Majid	Minister

The new cabinet continued the work of the earlier ministry and initiated new schemes for the development of the State. The result of the 1962 election made some of the Congress people to think that Gandhian ideals were losing ground. The new generation was highly materialistic in their thought and was ready for any compromise. The working class was promised tall things by the opposition parties by accusing Congress as responsible for their woes.

But the Congress Government continued its hard work without bothering about the result of the elections. They were under the impression that good service to the society was the duty of the politicians. If the people were misguided it is the duly of the leaders to show them the right path. Hence, unmindful of their loss in the election they served the nation in their capacity as the administrators.

Let us see some more excellent work done by the congress Government for the people of Tamilnadu along with the agitational politics of the opposition especially the D.M.K. including sacrifice of their basic ideology for the sake of power in the next chapter.

NOTES

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[3] Aruna, Aladi, Op.Cit., p.157.
[4] Madras State Administration Report, 1961, p.132.
[5] Aruna Aladi, Op.Cit, p.157.
[6] Madras State Administration Report, 1961, p.43.
[7] Ibid,p.4.
[8] Ibid..
[9] Aruna Aladi, Op.Cit., p.160.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Madras State Administration Report, 1961, p.99.
[12] Ibid, p.132.
[13] Madras State Administration Report, 1959, Op.Cit p.99.
[14] Tamil Arasu Weekly, Arasu:1, Anai 2 dated January 31,1960 (70, Karanceswary Koil Street, Madras – 4), p.3.
[15] Madras State Administration Report, 1964, Op.Cit p.5.
[16] Dhanush Kodi Muruga, Op.Cit, p.177.
[17] Government of Madras, G.O.No.637, Education dated March 28,1959.
[18] Dhanushkodi Muruga, Op.Cit. p.176.
[19] Government of Madras, G.O.No.637, Education dated March 28,1959.
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[21] Government of Madras, G.O.No.635, E& PH (1963) Department, dated April 2,1963.
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[23] Aruna Aladi, Op.Cit., p.160.
[24] Ibitd, P.161.
[25] Kalaimani N.V., Op.Cit, p.322.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Madras State Administration Report,1964,Op.Cit. p.63.
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CHAPTER VIII

CONTINUATION OF THE

GOOD GOVERNANCE

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CONTINUATION OF THE GOOD GOVERNMENT

The Congress Government's objective of promoting agriculture, industry, providing efficient administration, alleviating poverty and giving good education continued till their debacle in 1967. In the interest of an efficient administration Kamaraj formed a small ministry, gave considerable freedom to the ministers, guarded the services against political interference and maintained contact with the common people.[1] Kamaraj felt that promotion of education was essential for the economic welfare of the people.[2] Number of higher education institutions, were established along with primary and secondary education institutions.

Apart from starting more Medical, Engineering, Agriculture and Polytechnic Colleges, the Congress Government provided interest free loan scholarships to the meritorious poor students. [3] The period also witnessed growth of Government Arts Colleges along with 2 Physical Education Training Colleges, 10 Teacher Training Colleges and 39 Basic Teacher Training Institutes.[4] These developmental activities in the state led to the economic growth in the long run. The Government also felt the need for starting one more University for the growth of higher education. Hence a new University was started at Madurai, which became the first University

to be started in the State after Independence. The Madras University which was started during the British rule continued to function for the growth of higher education.

For the purpose of establishing the University at Madurai a Bill (*Legislative Assembly Bill No. 11 of 1965*) was *introduced in the* Assembly by the Congress Committee. As per the wishes of the honorable members of the house the bill was referred to the select committee and the committee suggested an amendment to the Bill. [5] The select committee wanted the Senate and Syndicate of the proposed University to nominate a member each for the V.C. selection committee and the Chancellor to nominate the third member for this committee. The members of this committee were not eligible for appointment as V.C. Out of their recommendation of 3 members for the V.C. post one was to be appointed by the Chancellor. This amendment was objected to by a member, Rama Arangannal and he wanted the Madras University system of Senate recommending three and Chancellor selecting one to continue for the Madurai University to be formed.[6] Later on this system was also changed and Madurai system was introduced in Madras. The Madurai University Act, 1965 (Madras Act 33 of 1965) was passed by the Assembly. [7]

The Congress Government also had great concern for the Backward Class people other than S.C. and S.T. The Government set apart funds for the education of these people as early as 1949 and that trend continued during the third term of Kamaraj. Ten percent of seats in Harijan Hostels are reserved for other Backward students. Board and lodging charges to deserving students who stay in recognized hostels were granted along with examination fees. [8] Non-Residential Scholarships were also granted. The most welcome, feature of this scheme was the responsibility given to the Harijan welfare Department to look after the Backward People.[9] Some kind of integration of classes were attempted by, the Congress Government. Scholarship was granted for all courses of study including professional, industrial and commercial courses. But the later Governments segregated Backward Classes from the Harijan Welfare Department.

PROMOTION OF TAMIL

The Congress Government was very sincere in implementing the Constitutional obligations. The Constitution envisages the introduction of Hindi as an official language of the Central Government from the year 1965. Hence the Government provided facilities for the people to learn this language. The Congress Government felt that it is the duty of the Government to give facilities to all the people living in the state. Denying such facilities would affect their career prospects. With effect from 1954 –

55 provisions had been made for the study of Hindi under Part II of the first language in Form IV to VI of secondary schools.[10]

However the Government was very much interested in the promotion of Tamil language. The Congress Government took the historical decision to introduce Tamil Medium in Colleges as early as in 1959. The Government wanted to introduce Tamil Medium in B.A. courses as a first step. [11] For this purpose the secondary education was also reorganized from 1959 – 60 (VIII std). [12] It was also decided to make Government Arts College, Coimbatore as a Pilot College where pupils from every district would be admitted for Tamil Medium Courses. [13] To make this scheme a success a 'College Tamil Committee was constituted and G.R. Damodaran, Principal, P.S.G. College of Technology, Coimbatore was appointed as Chairman. [14]

From July 1960 as planned Tamil Medium was introduced in B.A. i) History ii) Economics, iii) Politics, iv) Geography and v) Psychology at the Pilot College (Government Arts College) Coimbatore. [15] To encourage students to join the Tamil Medium courses the Government came out with a new concession. Full Fee concession was granted to Tamil Medium Students whose parental income was below Rs.3000 per annum. [16] This concession to the poor students made them to join Tamil Medium Courses.

The Government, based on the performance at this Pilot College wanted to introduce Tamil Medium in other Colleges in a phased manner.

The Congress Government also had the intention of making use of Tamil in other departments in the state. They had the idea of introducing Tamil in the legal department. To create equivalent words in Tamil for legal terms and legal concepts a committee was constituted under the chairmanship of the Honorary Director of Legal Studies.[17] This committee compiled a glossary of legal terms for academic instructions and published a booklet containing the equivalent in Tamil for words expressing legal concepts.[18] These activities of the Congress Government clearly indicate that the Congress was for promoting the mother tongue Tamil but at the same time wanted to provide facilities for learning Hindi to help the public to improve their career opportunities. Learning Hindi would definitely help the people to go to other places in India for any purpose other than employment opportunities.

Introduction of Tamil medium in higher educational institutions was not whole-heartedly, welcomed by all. There were people who were under the impression that learning degree courses through Tamil Medium would spoil their life. No other person than the Vice-Chancellor of Madras University expressed the fear that introduction of Tamil Medium in

Colleges for learning B.A. Courses in History, Economics etc might harm the students.[19] He lamented that the Governments policy was not satisfactory in this point time and expressed the view that Tamil Medium was not safe. But the Congress Government was stuborn in its Commitment to promote the Tamil language. They slowly extended this scheme.[20]

HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTES

The year 1964 also witnessed another important Policy decision of the Congress Government, introducing the Evening College concept in the state.[21] The intention of the Government was to give opportunities to the employees to acquire higher qualifications through these colleges by attending regular classes during the evenings. This decision of the Government helped those who lived in and around the urban areas to qualify themselves. To start with the Government permitted colleges who came forward to offer Evening College Courses to offer Pre-University courses and Degree Courses in Humanities only.[22] Evening College was started at Government Arts College, Madras, Queen Mary's College Madras and Government Arts College, Coimbatore.[23] Aided Colleges like Sri Thiyagaraya College, Madurai and Jamal Mohamed College, Tiruchi were also given permission by the Government to start P.U.C. and Degree Courses in Humanities.[24]

The Congress Government encouraged Philanthropists to start higher educational institutions in the state. To share their financial burden the Government had taken a decision to grant them aid. The aid was granted to the Non- Government Arts Colleges in the form of Teaching grant, Building grant and Equipment grant. Every financial year a considerable percentage of amount was allotted for this purpose. For example, when the Budget was presented for 1963 – 64 financial year the Government announced Teaching grant (Two-third of the net Cost of the maintenance of the Colleges). Building grant (One-half of the actual cost subject to a maximum of Rs.75,000 including play grounds) and equipment grant (one-half of the actual cost subject to a maximum of Rs.10,000).[25]

Another historical announcement by the Congress Government was retirement benefits to the teachers working in these institutions. The Government promised to give one-third of the Provident Fund amount (own, management contribution of one-half of the own contribution of the teachers and accumulated interest) to the retiring teachers.[26] This act of the Government shows the real concern for the teachers and education. It is to be remembered here that these facilities were extended to the teachers when the states Total Budget estimate was just Rs.124.45 Crores.[27] With the meagre revenue the Congress Government had done great service to the teaching Community. Another important announcement in the Budget was

the allocation of funds under miscellaneous account for the preparation of college textbooks and lecture manuals in Tamil[28]. The earlier decision of the Government to introduce Tamil medium in colleges received further concrete support from the Government to popularise and make easy the Tamil medium courses in the Arts Colleges.[28]

The number of Colleges in the state grew rapidly and higher education attracted all sections of society. In 1964, there were 78 Arts Colleges in the state including 22 Colleges for women.[29] There were 11 Engineering and 32 Polytechnic Colleges in the state.[30] The Government had also taken a decision to start one more Agriculture College from the academic year 1965 at Madurai.[31] The most important news to the people was the inauguration of Regional Engineering College at Tiruchi. [32] The college was started with central aid, to give high quality engineering education to the students of Tamilnadu and also to promote national integration by admitting students from other states in to this college. The students of Tamilnadu were also given a chance to get admission in the similar R.E.C.'s in other states. [33]

Higher education continued to get support from the government and the university also made necessary changes in the new pattern of studies. In the Year 1965 the Madras University reorganized the P.U.C. by

providing two main streams of studies for the students.[33] Now the students were required to study either the Science Stream or the Humanities stream.[34] Colleges having more than one section in P.U.C. were asked to have one section for Humanities.[35] The Government did not allow the colleges to neglect Humanities. The need for more colleges in the state was also felt and in 1965, seven more Government Colleges (6 for men and 1 for Women) were started.[36]

To further strengthen education in the State the Government bifurcated the Directorate of Public Instruction (D.P.I.) into two.[37] Now one Directorate for secondary education, elementary education and for Government Examinations,[38] and another for higher education were created. Due to this bifurcation of D.P.I. the concerned Directorates could concentrate on their area. Growth of more educational institution at college level and school level were also responsible for their bifurcations.

One more novel scheme of the Government was the introduction of planning forum in Colleges.[39] The intention of the Government was to popularize and to stimulate interest among the teachers and students of Colleges under the Five-year plan of the Central Government. The Government wanted them to discuss the plan threadbare and come out with better ideas or wanted them to point out the drawbacks in the plan, so that

it could be rectified at the right time. For the conduct of regular meetings and functions the Government allowed a grant of Rs.400 in 1965 to all the Colleges having Planning Forums. [40] This step of the Government motivated the teachers and students to involve themselves in the nation building activities. The Government itself conducted two day seminars to involve the public at Madras, Coimbatore, Tiruchi, Madurai and Tirunelveli. [41]

As per the plan of the Government, Tamil medium was introduced in the pilot College, Government Arts College, Coimbatore in 1959, in B.A., History, Economics, Politics, Geography and Psychology. From the academic year 1965-66 Tamil Medium was introduced in P.S.G. Arts College, Coimbatore, (Economics and Social Studies), NGM Arts College, Pollachi (History), Sri Avinasilingam College, Coimbatore (Economics), and Government Arts College, Kumbakonam (Economics). [42] The Government also planed to introduce Tamil medium in Government Arts College, Madras and Queen Mary's College, Madras in the immediate future. [43] The Congress leader Kamaraj insisted that Tamil medium should become the medium of higher educational institutions with immediate effect. [44] He also warned that it should not be delayed for the want of Text Books in Tamil. [45]

The Congress Government showed interest in modern Technology. The Tamilnadu Government for the growth of higher education and research immediately utilized the newly introduced Computer Technology. Their vision of the future was highly acclaimed by society. It was true that there was a financial constraint on the State Government in introducing the Computer Technology in the 1960's. However the available resources were properly tapped to get this facility. Under USAID scheme the Tamilnadu Government as a gift received an IBM 1620 Digital Computer and it was installed at the college of Engineering, Guindy, Madras.[46] This rare facility of that age was used by several organizations for their developmental activities. The Madras University, Indian Institute of Technology, Madras, Post and Telegraph Department, Kodaikanal Observatory, Alagappa College of Technology, and the institutions from other states like R.E.C. Warangal, Andhra Pradesh and Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, Karanataka etc. were some of the regular users of the facility.[47]

As a part of their work towards the development of education the Congress Government updated the Connemara Library opened the 1896 by the British Government, as a State Library and financially supported it for its growth.[48] There was a concern for growth of literacy in the State. Whatever was possible was done by the Government to improve the

standard of Education. The opposition party, in the State Assembly, D.M.K. on its part did some lip service. Just to show that they were very much interested in the history of the State its member and the party whip in the Assembly M.Karunanithi put a question to the Government asking for the plan of the Government for an archaeological excavation at Woraiyur (ancient Chola capital) in Tiruchi.[49] When the Chief Minister told the house that there was no plan on the part of the Government and informed that the Madras University looks after this, the D.M.K. kept quiet. It is to be noted that when that party came to power they never made any such attempt. So for the sake of asking a reasonable question it was asked.

PANCHAYAT RAJ

The other important achievement of the Congress Government was in the field of Panchayat Raj. By enacting new laws and by conducting election to the local bodies and by delegation of administrative and financial power, the State showed the best way to the entire nation. The Spirit of the Indian Constitution was rightly understood and the Madras Government put article 40 of the Indian Constitution under part IV Directive Principle of State Policy into practice.

The Madras Village Panchayat Act, 1950, was enacted and implemented from April 1,1951.[50] As per this Act for the creation of a

Village Panchayat the minimum population required was 500 and if the population is more than 5000 and income was more than Rs.10,000 then it would be classified as class I Panchayat and an Executive Officer (E.O) to be appointed.[51] The Government immediately plunged into action and created Village Panchayats as per the provisions of the Act. The entire State witnessed the creation of Village Panchayats by the Government. However due to some political difficulties some Village Panchayat were not constituted in 1951. The then minister for local administration K.Chandra Mouli took keen interest in implementing the Act earnestly.

As far as the urban bodies like City Municipal Corporation, Municipalities and District Boards were concerned the existing law enacted by the British Government was in vogue even after Independence. The entire state had only one Municipal Corporation at Madras, which was created in 1687 when King James II conferred upon the East India Company, the power of establishing a Municipality in Madras.[52] This urban body was the first Municipal Corporation established in this country on the British model. This Municipality had the power to function as a court of Record with power to try civil and criminal cases.[53]

The Madras Municipal Corporation which underwent many changes continued its function as the only Municipality Corporation for the whole state. After independence due to the development of towns a few

Municipal councils were constituted and an act called Madras Municipality Act, 1920 was enacted to supervise and control these urban bodies. Before the creation of Andhra in 1953 there were 98 Municipal Councils in the State.[54] Elections to these bodies were held in 1952 These Municipalities were regularly administered by the Municipal Commissioners from 1933 (earlier the elected Chairmen were responsible for carrying out the resolutions).[55] On December 31, 1956 the State had 54 Municipalities and after independence a chamber of Municipal chairmen was created and annual conferences were held regularly. Now in the year 1954 after the creation of Andhra State, Tamilnadu had 61 Municipalities and 13 District Boards apart from Panchayats.[56] The Fourth Annual Conference of the Chamber of Municipal chairmen was held at Rajaji Hall, Madras on February 7, 1954.[57] The conference was presided over by S.Parameswaran M.L.A., Mayor of Madras and inaugurated by the Minister K.Rajaram Naidu. T.K.Rama M.L.A., welcomed the gathering. The State Government by encouraging such conferences wanted to know the feeling of the people through the chairmen to manage the urban bodies in a better way.[58] It is worth mentioning that the Salem Municipal council continued to run a college while other Municipalities ran only schools.[59] The State Government was also sincere in conducting elections to the village Panchayats. The first election after independence was conducted in November 1952 and prolonged up to 1953 and even then the elections

could not be conducted in 7 class I and 4 class II Panchayats. [60] The Madras Panchayat subordinate service had been constituted for District Panchayat officers and Deputy Panchayat Officers. [61]

However the election to the District Boards were not conducted. The District Boards were looked after by special officers and their term was extended up to October 31,1954 through the Madras Act VIII of 1954 (The Madras District Boards (Amendment) Act, 1954) amending the original provisions of the Madras District Boards Act, 1920. [62]

The Madras Act XXIV 1957 amending 1950 Panchayat Act Created Townships. The State, created Townships at Courtalam and Bhavani Sagar under the Jurisdiction of the Courtralam Panchayat and Kuduvay and Thoppampalayam Panchayats respectively.[63] Mettur was made into a Township from October 1, 1960. Through a resolution in the State Assembly Kodaikkanal became a Township.[64] In 1965 three more Townships (Ambattur, Mahabhilapuram and Kanyakumari) were created bringing the total Townships to eleven. [65] As per the amended Panchayat Act 1950, Townships are excluded from Panchayats and the Presidents of Townships were to be elected by the members from among themselves. [66]

The 1950 Act, which was in vogue nearly for a decade, was replaced by a new Panchayat Act put forward by the Committee constituted for this purpose under the Chairmanship of Mr.Balwantrai Mehta. Tamilnadu was very quick to accept the suggestions of this committee and incorporated most of the suggestions in its new Act for the Panchayats in 1958. The Madras Panchayat Act, 1958 (Madras ACT XXXV 1958) was passed by the State Assembly. [67] The most important features of this Act are: [68]

1. Abolition of District Boards
2. Introduction of Panchayat Union Council
3. Naming Class I Panchayats as Town Panchayats and Class II as village Panchayats.
4. No more judicial function for the Panchayats.
5. Provision for creation of Townships

The Congress Government headed by Kamaraj promised election to these bodies before October 2, 1961. As per the promise, elections were conducted through out the State right earnestly by the State Government to make the Panchayat Raj, a great success.

Subsequently the State felt the need for a separate Act for the smooth functioning of the newly created Panchayat councils. Hence the Madras Panchayat Union Councils Act, 1960 (The Madras Act 17 of 1960) was enacted for this purpose.[69] The Act provided provisions for the election of members to the Panchayat Union. As per the Act the elected Presidents of Panchayants were to be the members of Panchayat Union and the Act also enabled the Government to fix the term of those members. [70]

The Panchayat Raj System worked perfectly due to the full support of the Congress Government. The newly elected representatives discharged their duties to develop the State to a higher level.

OTHER ACTIVITIES

The Congress Government had shown continuous concern for the agricultural workers. To protect Kaiaeruvaramdar and Mattuvaramdars in Tiruchirappalli District an Act (Madras Act XXXVI, 1958) was passed. [71] The act says that the remuneration payable to the Kaiaarumvaramdar shall be on the same terms as were applicable to him immediately before the commencement of this Act and the landlords shall not dismiss them after commencement of agriculture activities in a crop season except on misconduct. [72] In the case of dispute the Thasildhar was to decide dispute and the next appellate authority was the R.D.O.

The Congress Government also commenced some revolutionary actions to protect the ryots from the clutches of the zamindars. The zamindari system was now abolished by the Government[73] Now life had become more meaningful to the tiller, who till now, tilled at another's pleasure and for another's enjoyment. [74] Thousands of ryots had become free from serfdom and the Governments decisions made their toiling and tilling worthwhile.

The Madras Co-operate Bank Ltd and the Madras Co-Operative Central Land Mortgage Bank Ltd., were encouraged by the Government to extend eligible loan facilities to the ryots to continue their agricultural activities. Hence the ryots were happy because there was somebody to look after their needs.

The developmental activities of the Congress Government were felt in almost every field. The Government took a wonderful decision to improve the slum area. For this purpose, The Madras Slum Improvement (Acquisition of Land) Act, 1954 (Madras Act XI of 1954) was enacted by the state Government. [75] This Act provides for the acquisition by the State Government in the city of Madras of any area declared to be a slum by the Government for the purpose of clearing or improving such area on payment

of compensation.[76] In this way the Government made an earnest attempt to provide better living conditions to the poorest section of the people living in the city.

The most acclaimed decision of the Congress Government right from 1946 was the imposition of prohibition in the State. During those days liquor had made man an outcaste unto himself.[77] The aim of the Government in introducing prohibition was to prevent deterioration of their health and also from becoming poorest among the poor. To start with the Government introduced prohibition in 8 Districts in 1946, 8 more in 1947 and in the whole State from October 1948.[78] Madras State was the first State in India to introduce 'total prohibition'.[79] It is true that due to this policy there was a considerable loss of revenue to the Government. "If the Government has lost more than seventeen crores on account of this (in 1951), the stain and stigma that came with the tainted money have also been lost.[80] This policy of the Congress Government continued till the end of their rule in 1967. There were no second thoughts on this subject by the ministries of Rajaji., Kamaraj and Bakthavatchalam.

Later on the Government realized that the non-Indians and tourists from other countries were accustomed to the habit of consuming liquor and hence it was the duty of the Government to allow them to continue their habit to promote tourism and also to respect their way of life. In the year

1960 in order to regulate grant of personal permit new rules were framed. The Madras Liquor (License and Permit) Rules 1960, under Madras Prohibition Act were issued by the Government and the rules came into force on October 1,1960. [81] As per the rules, on application the non-Indians and Tourist from other countries were given permits to buy up to maximum of 8 units per month. [82] For Indians also this concession was extended on health ground, if they were certified by a civil surgeon (Indian from other states to get certificate from their state) and permitted to buy upto a maximum of 4 units per month. [83]

The Congress Government had a real concern for the aged and the destitute. They felt that it was the responsibility of the Government to look after the old. Kamaraj's Government in 1962 sanctioned the Social Protection Scheme. With effect from April 1,1962 the pension was sanctioned to the eligible persons. [84] For this purpose a G.O.No.73, Finance, dated, July 22, 1962, was issued by the Government. [85] As per this G.O. a monthly pension of Rs.20 for old persons above 65 years and destitute above 60 was granted. Up to the end of 1965 more than 66, 130 persons got pension. [86] In the case of incapacitated persons the age limit was reduced to 50. The R.D.O. was the authority to sanction the pension and appeal to the District Collector was final.

The Government was also very keen to prevent begging. As early as 1945 an act called Madras Prevention of Begging Act, 1945 (Madras Act XIII of 1945) was enacted. [87] The Congress Government to rehabilitate the beggars started a Home and Camp for beggars at Melpakkam, 14 miles west of Madras city, between Poonamallee and Avadi.[88] The eight acre campus could accommodate 500 persons. It had rehabilitation schemes of handicrafts, weaving rope making, mat weaving and vegetable gardening programmes. [89] The Home opened by the then C.M., Rajaji did not completely eradicated begging in the State. An amendment to the original Act was made in 1964 by the Congress Government to make the Act more meaningful and to make Madras Clean from the begging menace. However it was not fully eradicated in the State.

The Congress Government had taken concrete steps to relieve traffic Congestion in Madras City by starting a subway near the junction of Pycrofts Road and South Beach Road and another subway near central Station, Madras. [90] The most important steps like this were taken with a view to make the Madras City a model city. In spite of financial crunch the Government took some efforts to give such good facilities to the people of the State. In fact the sub way, a novel idea for the State had become a

place to be seen by the public. The other such facilities were also mooted and the proposals were at the various processing levels.

After the 1962 election the center realized the danger of allowing separatist Parties to grow in the country. Especially the separatist party D.M.K.'s recent victory in the State Assembly election made the center to do something to prevent separatism and protect Nationalism in India. Hence preparations were made to bring an act for this purpose.

As usual the D.M.K. chief C.N.Annadurai made emotional speeches as if he was not afraid of the proposed Act to ban Separatist organization.[91]. He lamented in a public meeting at Saidapet in Madras on Sep 10,1962 that when the news about preventing Separatism by the center reached here he was feeling happy equivalent to forming a ministry. He said he was not afraid about the proposed Act. However Ma.Po.Si., says the policy of separate State for Dravidians, even if it costs the lives of the D.M.K. leaders, was dropped due to the fear about Act which prevent separatism.[92] The Act prohibited those who supported separation of State from contesting the election. The Indian Constitution was suitably amended in October 1963 for this purpose. Now the law says that those who contest elections for the Assembly or Parliament should give an undertaking that the candidate has faith in the integration of the Country and after election

the members have to take a oath to the effect that they would be loyal to the Constitution and protect it in any situation. [93] C.N.Annadurai realized the situation and made an announcement On October 23, 1963 that his party henceforth would not propagate Separatism. He said his Party would strictly follow the provisions of the Indian Constitution. [94] He realized that otherwise D.M.K. could not contest Assembly or Parliament election in the future.

In the meantime the Congress Party which realized the need for the support of the press after the 1962 election, continued to strengthen the Party by encouraging its supporters to start some more newspapers. With effect from June 15,1963 a new daily, Nathigam was started by P.Ramasami who became its editor. The editor of Periyarism, Killivalavan also joined the Congress party in the presence of Kamaraj on August1, 1964 at the Salem Congress Executive meeting, after separating himself from E.V.R.[95] The Congress wanted the support of more newspapers because of the D.M.K.'s strong newspaper support base. The good things done by the Congress Government did not reach the people in a right way. The D.M.K. was also making a wrong campaign against the Congress. Hence, they thought through newspapers D.M.K.'s onslaught and misinformation campaign could be countered.

The year 1964 was a very bad year for Tamilnadu. During this year in the month of December there was a cyclone in the State. Water surrounded almost all the villages and towns in the southern part of the Country. Places from Paramakudi up to Dhanushkodi in the Ramanathapuram District, was badly affected.[96] The rail road from Rameshwaram to Dhanushkodi was lost in the cyclone. The Pamban Bridge was washed away in this havoc. The Government took steps to give some remedy to the worst affected people. However the great damage done to private and public property was heavy and complete recovery was not possible. This natural calamity made the exchequer empty. The agricultural and industrial activity came down and it took time to revive such activities. These things were not fully understood by the people. The Opposition parties especially the D.M.K. blamed the Congress for not handling the calamity properly. In the long run this cyclone had an impact on the election and the Congress lost power due to reasons, which were beyond their control.

In spite of excellent administrative measures the Congress could not retain its support base in the State. In the meantime, due to various other political developments the great man of Congress in Tamilnadu, Kamaraj, was elevated to the National level and that event instead of helping the party, affected its electoral prospects in the State. Let us see these

developments along with the agitation, of the opposition especially D.M.K. by taking up the language issue for political gain in the next chapter in detail.

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CHAPTER IX

ELEVATION OF KAMARAJ AND THE DEBACLE OF THE CONGRESS

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ELEVATION OF KAMARAJ AND THE DEBACLE OF THE CONGRESS

The by-election to Thiruvannamalai Assembly Constituency held in June 29,1963 had changed the politics of Tamilnadu.[1] The defeat of Congress in the election created a lot of changes in the mind of Kamaraj. He wanted to arrest the growing influence of D.M.K. in Tamilnadu.[2] The Congress leader Kamaraj wanted the senior leaders to go for Party work to strengthen the Party.[3] He himself took that historical decision and resigned his Chief Ministership to work for the party.

After the 1962 election, the Separatist Party D.M.K. got encouraged due to the number of M.L.A.s it had won in the election .This victory gave them the hope to grow further. Hence, they immediately plunged into action. They had decided to organise as many agitations as possible against the Congress Government by highlighting the issues, which did not attract them earlier. The D.M.K. started its anti–price rise agitations.[4] They condemned the Central Government for increasing tax on threads. [5] These activities of the D.M.K. and the complacent attitude of Congress decided the trend in the by–election to Thiruchengodu Parliamentary Constituency held in August 1962. C.Subramanian declared that this election would decide whether people would support secession (Dravidanadu) or not.

Inspite of these developments the D.M.K. won the election and made the Congress to think of ways to improve the image of the Party. The next by – election at Thiruvannamalai made them to take a decision immediately.

Kamaraj felt that ''the party is bound to become weaker and weaker if it continues to lose its Contact with the masses. [6] Kamaraj felt that unless the Congress Party was revitalized it would be defeated in the general election due in 1967.[7] The party should develop its contact with the villages and there should be a harmonious relationship between the Party and the Government.

The reverses in the 1962 election by the Congress was also felt in some other States.Parties like Jan Sangh and Swatantara were working to capture power from Congress with the support of big wigs .The National President of the Congress, Sanjiva Reddy during his address at Bhavnagar 67th Annual Session of the Congress, wanted the senior people to Quit Government and work for the Party. The proposal of utilising the services of the senior leaders for the Party work took a final shape in 1963, when Kamaraj decided to leave the Chief Ministership for Party work.[8] It was not merely an announcement for public consumption .In 1963(after the by–election to an Assembly Constituency) the decision to work for the party by laying down the office of Chief Minister was made.[9] Nehru earlier

consulted Kamaraj on this vital issue of utilizing the Services of the senior leader for the party to uplift its image and also to strengthen it.

Though there was a requirement of leaders for Party work, at national level, Kamaraj made it clear that his proposal to resign the Chief Ministership was meant only for his own (Tamilnadu) state.[10] But unfortunately for Tamilnadu , Nehru wanted to apply this principle for the entire Nation.[11] The Congress working Committee discussed the proposal of Kamaraj on August 9,1963 and approved his plan of party work. The special session of the Congress Committee on the next day passed a resolution by accepting 'Kamaraj's Plan'.

Kamaraj out of his own experience in Tamilnadu for more than nine years wanted the leaders to lead the workers to give new strength and vigour to the organisation.[12] Almost all members of this committee including S.K. Patil and Jagajivan Ram congratulated Kamaraj on his giving congressmen a proper lead in an acute crisis in the history of the Congress.[13] Nehru said that the plan originated with Kamarj and it was a timely and constructive project.[14] The so called, 'Kamaraj Plan' originally intended for the State of Tamilnadu applied to the entire nation.

The Kamaraj Plan enhanced the prestige and authority of the Congress Presidency by bringing to the National Scene in the person of

Kamaraj a powerful figure equipped to deal with events.[15] Now Kamaraj became the President and was recognised as the King –Maker of India. Suddenly Kamaraj's image rose to a new height at the national level due to his wish to relinquish the Chief Ministership after more than nine years in office and still with four more years to complete the present term.

The working Committee of the Congress decided to make Kamaraj as the next National President in its meeting on October 9,1963. The choice of Kamaraj as the President was announced at Jaipur in November 1963, at the A.I.C.C meeting . The Hindu in its editorial mentioned it is but fitting that Kamaraj should be entrusted with the implementation of this programme (revitalisation of the Congress) [16]. Earlier Kamaraj resigned his Chief Ministership on October 2, 1963. A man from Tamilnadu was elected as the National President of Congress after a gap of 40 years. There was an enthusiasm in Tamilnadu. Kamaraj took the mantle during the Bhuvaneshwar Session on January 9,1964.

He declared that if the Congressmen devoted themselves to the cause of the common people, with unity the Party could be achieve the objective quickly.[17] He wanted the Congress to form Congress Committee in every village, as it is the best medium of mass contact. The sudden national development made the plan of Kamaraj, to strengthen the State Congress Party and contain the growth of D.M.K. in Tamilnadu go awry. .

After the exit of Kamaraj one of his senior Minister M.Bhakthavatchalam was elected by the state legislature as the next Chief Minister of the state.

In the absence of Kamaraj from the state political scene, the local body elections were conducted in the State in 1964. The Congress Party was supported by E.V.R. as was done before. The Dravida Kazhgam in its public meetings wanted people to extend their support to the Congress in the Municipal elections to make the socialistic politics of the Congress a great success.[18] The D.M.K. was supported by, Swatantara Party. Rajaji, the founder of this party declared that the victory of D.M.K. was his victory and further expressed the feeling that the friendship between himself and D.M.K. should further grow.[19]

In the Madras Municipal Corporation elections the D.M.K. won 49 seats out of 100 and assumed power with the support of the Muslim League (5) and some independents.[20] The Congress was able to win only 40 seats in this election.[21] The D.M.K. after discarding their separatist policy due to the amendment to the Indian Constitution, now instigating people of this state against the people of northern part of India declared that their victory in this election was due to the opposition to the domination of the people of north in the southern part of the country.[22] The Year 1964 witnessed the retirement of the Governor, Bisnuram Medhi on May 3 and

the taking over of the Governorship by his Highness Maharaja Sri Jaya Chamraja Wodiyar on thc same day. [23]

Contradictory to the Public opinion the Congress won a prestigious by election held in the Aruppukkottai Parliamentary constituency on April 15,1964.[24] The vacancy was caused due to the death of Muthuralinga Thever who represented this constituency in the Parliament. This victory for Congress gave them a hope to retain power in the next general election. But the subsequent events especially the anti-Hindi agitation started by the D.M.K. party made things different. The whole political scene in Tamilnadu had changed. The Congress Government under Bhakthavatchalam did not do anything remarkable to stop the growing opposition to the Congress.

In the meantime the role played by Kamaraj as the National President of the Congress at National level was widely acclaimed. After the death of Nehru in May, 1964 he played a very crucial role in smoothly electing Lal Bahadur Sastri as the next Prime Minister of India. [25] After this election his stature as the 'King Maker' reached a new height. Even foreign journals like Gaurdian published from Londan opined that Kamaraj himself was fit to become the Prime Minister of India. The New York Times expressed the view that Kamaraj was responsible for Lal Bahadhur becoming the P.M.[26] Lal Bahadur Sastri himself said he was grateful to

Kamaraj for solving all the problems that arose after Nehru's death. [27] EVR said the whole world would know the high character of Kamaraj in the immediate future.[28]

The elevation of Kamaraj as the National President of Congress helped the party to run its affairs smoothly at national level. But the absence of Kamaraj in Tamilnadu, was a great loss to the Tamilnadu Congress. The second line leaders including the new Chief Minister Bhakthavatchalam could not provide the needed leadership to the Party. Nobody could fulfill the vacancy caused by Kamaraj. Though, he periodically visited the state, attended the Congress working committee meetings at Madras and gave the required guidelines for the party, the vacuum caused by his elevation to a higher level was still there.

The D.M.K. wanted to use this opportunity for their party's growth in the State. To attract the attention of the people they took some emotional issues for agitations against the Government. Earlier, immediately after the 1962 election, they agitated against the Government over the price rise issue and a few thousands of their workers were imprisoned. But after the announcement made by Annadurai regarding the 'Dravidanadu' principle of the party there was some dull feeling among its cadres. They were not happy about the announcement of their leader that the party would not insist for a separate Dravidanadu, which was their basic ideology right

from the inception of the party in 1949. In fact even when they were in D.K. they had the same ideology from 1944 to 1949. But suddenly they changed their principle due to the amendment made to the Indian Constitution making propagation of separatism a disqualification to become members of Assemblies and Parliament.

ANTI – HINDI AGITATION:

The language issue i.e. opposition to Hindi language was not new to the politics of Tamilnadu. The regional party in the Madras State, the Justice Party took up this issue when it was completely routed out in the 1937 election to the Madras Assembly. The Congress, which won the election, formed the ministry under Rajaji.[29] He wanted to introduce the Congress policy to popularize Hindustani and allow non-Hindustani people to use English (a resolution to this effect was passed at Kanpur session of the Congress in 1925) in India[30]. As usual the Justice Party said it was an Aryan imposition on Dravidians. E.V.R. a former Congressman and now a Justice Party leader, organized an anti-Hindi Conference at Salem and formulated a programme of agitation.[31] As a part of the agitation one Stalin Jagadeesan undertook a hunger strike for nearly two months.[32] Thalamuthu and Natarajan who had protested against this issue died. The agitators were arrested in 100's but the agitation was stopped after the resignation of the Congress Ministry on October 29, 1939 over the issue of the Second World War.[33] So the aim of the agitation is very clear: they

wanted to oppose Congress in any manner. To gain popular support Justice Party took up the language issue.

It is to be remembered that the national leaders even if they belong to non-Hindi regions supported Hindi. They were for a common language for the nation. Gandhi, a Gujarati wanted to popularise Hindustani for a kind of national integration. Subas Chandra Bose, a Bengali was also in favour of Hindi. In fact his INA formed an Interim Government under his leadership during the Second world war period. This Interim Government led by Netaji in 'its cabinet meeting decided to make Hindi its common language for the nation.[34]

After Independence, the Congress wanted to help the people to learn Hindi for better mobility and also for creating a common language for the country, which in a way would pave the way for more integration of the nation. At the same time it was not against the regional language of the State. In fact it was the Congress Government, which was wholly responsible for making Tamil as the official Language of the State. In 1948, the Madras Congress Government introduced the scheme of conducting official correspondence in Tamil on an experimental basis in the District of Tiruchirappalli.[35]

The newly framed Indian Constitution which envisaged the introduction of Hindi as a national language from January 26, 1950. Article 343 (1) says that the official Language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagri script but for official purpose the international form of Indian Numerals would be used. However through Article 343(3) a guarantee was given to the non-Hindi speaking people that English would continue to be used for official purpose for a period of fifteen years.

The Constitution also gave the freedom to the State Government to adopt any language of its choice for official purpose. Article 345 provides that the Legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the language for use in the State. So the states are left free to adopt any language to be used for official purpose.

In spite of the constitutional guarantee given for the regional languages, some political parties especially D.M.K. in Tamilnadu misguided the people on this issue many a time and brought the old bogey of Aryan domination over the Dravidians. Dravida Khazhagam (The old Justice Party renamed in 1944 by E.V.R.) announced an agitation programme to give trouble to Rajaji in 1953. They announced a programme to deface Hindi letters in Railway stations with tar (strangely they had another programme to clean such defaced letters by using kerosene) throughout the State.[36] In fact they blamed the police officials of

Virudhunagar for not allowing them to carrying out this programme at the Railway Station. [37] They also appreciated the police, in other towns for allowing their followers to deface the Hindi letters with tar and then allowing them to clean the defaced letters by using Kerosene.[38] It is very clear from the mode of their agitation and the announcements made by their leaders that the agitation was started not with a conviction. It was only a political gimmick. The Youth Congress members were organising counter protests in many areas and one such programme was conducted at Sattur Railway station.

The Congress Government was very firm in its principle to make Tamil as the official language of the state. For this purpose Kamaraj enacted a law, Madras Official Language Act 1956 that had made Tamil the Official Language of the State.[39] At the same time it was announced that English would continue as an alternative official language. The Congress Government prepared a standard Glossary and supplied it to all its officers.[40] The heads of the departments were required to prepare and send for approval a supplementary glossary. A few departments were selected for implementing this decision with full vigour. The departments selected for this purpose were Revenue, Public Works, Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Co-operative, Village and Panchayat Courts.[41] It was very evident that the Congress government was strictly following the constitution and wanted to help people to learn Hindi for better mobility

and career opportunity. At the same time it took early and earnest efforts to develop Tamil for official purpose in the State.

The Congress Government continued its efforts to support the development of Tamil in official correspondences. With effect from January 14, 1958, Tamil was introduced as the official language for correspondence in 1925 offices in Tamilnadu.[42] Copies of glossary of Administrative Terms (English to Tamil) were supplied to all the officers. To make the scheme more meaningful Tamil typewriters were supplied to Revenue Agriculture, Public Works, and Irrigation departments from May 2, 1960 and the official Language Committee made arrangements to give training in Tamil Typewriters to the employees.[43] After few months some more departments at district level were supplied with Tamil typewriters. With effect from January 26, 1961 the typewriters were supplied to the departments of Animal Husbandary, Co-operation, Education, Hindu Religious and Charitable Endearment and Local Administration.[44] Further some of the Acts were ~~also~~ translated into Tamil. Co-operative Societies Act, Madras Panchayat Act and Madras Educational Rules were translated from English to Tamil.[45]

Earlier the Congress Government of Tamilnadu convened a meeting at Mahabhalipuram, Madras to review the report of the Official Language Commission on January 1, 1958 Kamaraj invited his counterparts from

Mysore and Andhra for this meeting. After threadbare discussion it was agreed by them that discontinuance of English by 1965 was impracticable.[46] So a very clear decision was taken in the language issue. All the Southern Chief Ministers including the Tamilnadu were not in favour of switching over to Hindi from 1965. They felt some more time was required to prepare the people to accept it. But this decision was not properly conveyed by the Government to the public. This type of communication gap was utilized by the D.M.K. in its favour E.V.R. welcomed the decision to continue English as official Language for some more time and wanted people to learn more English for development.[47]

Undisturbed by the opposition party's campaign against its language policy, the State Government issued a G.O. for the constitution of 'The Madras State Tamil Development and Research council' to develop Tamil.[48] Under the chairman of the Education Minister, C.Subramanian a 39 member council which includes the D.M.K. founder C.N.Annadurai, V.R.Nadunchezhiyan, K.A.P.Viswanathan, Po.Sivagnanam etc., was constituted for promoting Tamil.[49] The council was requested to suggest concrete measure to implement the Government's intention to introduce Tamil medium in colleges.[50] The other duties of the council were to publish Temple Inscriptions, to publish manuscripts available with Institutions and Libraries, to promote folklore, to catalogue all manuscripts,

to publish bibliography, dictionary and encyclopedia. The Congress Government also started Tamilnadu Text Book Society for publishing and translating work.[51]

But, the D.M.K. continued its opposition to Hindi and observed October 13,1957 as anti-Hindi imposition day. They organized several meetings for this purpose. The party held a preparatory meeting at Thiruvannamalai on September 21,1957 addressed by C.N.Annadurai.[52] The party convened one more anti Hindi conference at Nagercoil on December 27-28,1957 and decided to launch a black flag agitation against the Prime Minister, Nehru when he visit Tamilnadu by the party M.L.A.s and two M.P.s for his attitude (calling the agitations childish) towards D.M.K.[53] The D.M.K. men even before the arrival of Nehru courted arrest and a few people went to the Airport and were lathi changed by the Police.

Inspite of Nehru's assurance time and again that Hindi would not be imposed and English would continue, the D.M.K. on July 31,1960 decided to show the black flag to the President of India when he visited Tamilnadu.[54] In a reply to E.V.K.Sampath's letter (similar letter were also sent from M.P.s from Mysore, Assam and Bihar) dated August 3,1960 the P.M. reassured his promise on the language issue and the decision of D.M.K. was withdrawn.[55] Home Minister Pant also assured in the Parliament on

August 1, 1960 that English would continue even after 1965. Ma.Po.Sivagnanam, the editor of Sengol and the founder of Thamizharasu Kazhagam lamented that the agitation announced by D.M.K. was only a ploy and further stated that it was a seasonal business for D.M.K. (opposing Hindi). [56]

The Congress Government headed by Kamaraj was not only responsible for making Tamil as the official language of the state but also responsible for naming the state as Tamilnadu. P.Chidambaram, the founder of Congress Jananayaga Peravai, a splinter group of Congress(I) says it was Congress which passed a resolution in the State Assembly as early as 1961 to change the name of the State to Tamilnadu.[57] He says D.M.K. changed the name, years after bypassing this resolution by the Congress Government.

Santhi, a Fortnightly published from 147, Great Cotton Road, Thuthukodi and edited by S.A.Muruganandhan communicated in a question answer page of the magazine that C.N.Annadurai is using Hindi to secede Tamilnadu from the Indian union.[58] In the meantime the Government had taken a decision not to conduct Hindi Examination for the school students but wanted them not to neglect Hindi.

The Government of India passed an Act for the promotion Hindi in 1963. The Official Language Act, 1963 was not well received by the opposition parties in Tamilnadu. The language issue was made more emotional by instigating speeches and writing by the DMK. After the amendment to the Constitution, making secessionist attitude punishable, they poured more fuel on the language issue and some innocent people were emotionally charged and indulged in some inhuman activities. In July 15,1963 the D.M.K. took a decision to organise anti-Hindi meetings, dramas and other Cultural Programmes to prepare the people and also to publish posters handbills etc. C.N.Annadurai in his usual style described Hindi as bloodthirsty wolf.[59] Rajaji in a meeting at Salem declared that his Swatantara Party also would join D.M.K. in the anti-Hindi agitation.[60]

C.N.Annadurai came out with the real intention of the D.M.K. for the agitation. While participating in a 'Tamil Peravai' meeting at Madras Law College, he stated that defeating Congress in the election in Tamilnadu would solve the Hindi issue.[61] The D.M.K. planned picketing programmes in front of Central Government offices on November 17,1963 throughout the state.[62] Their plan was to continue the struggle till 1965.

The agitation was slowly becoming violent Chinnasamy of Kilapalur near Ariyalur, boarded a train, to Madras on January 20, 1964, in which the C.M.,.Bhakthavatchalam was also traveling. He got off at

Mambalam Station, Madras and pleaded with the C.M. to save Tamil from Hindi.[63] He was arrested and released on the next day. He came back to his native place and told his wife Kamala that there may be surprise news for her in near future. On 24th he visited Tiruchi and the next day morning at 4 o' clock set himself ablaze and died leaving his wife and a daughter.[64] Earlier he wrote letters to his wife and friends. M.G.Ramachandran the D.M.K. leader and cine actor donated Rs.5000 to his family.[65] The weekly Samaneedhi says he was a Nam- Tamilar supporter.[66] Karunanithi claimed that he was a D.M.K. worker.[67]

In the meantime the already announced picketing programme of D.M.K. continued in some places in the State. Though it was a state wide programme it was carried out by the party only in a phased manner by conducting agitations in one district after another. They conducted picketing at Tiruchi, Coimbatore, Salem and Chengelpet districts respectively.[68]

The Congress Government to show their respect to the great scholars of Tamil literature, made an arrangement to install the portrait of the Thiruvalluvar, the author of Thirukkural in the State Assembly. It was declared opened by the vice-President Jahir Hussain on February 23,1964.[69] The Chief Minister Bhakthavatchalam reassured the public that the state Government would not impose Hindi in the State and requested

the students not to neglect English, which would help for national integration.[70]

The D.M.K.'s Executive Committee met an January 9, 1965 and passed a resolution to observe January 26 the Republic day as 'black day' to show their protest against Hindi.[71] The official organ of the party Murasoli in its issue on January 10, asked partymen to make arrangements to fly black flags.[72] The Congressmen were clear in their policy towards Hindi. They also opposed imposition of Hindi but at the same time were not against people learning Hindi and English. They did not hide this view for political gain. They openly encouraged people to learn a language or two other than Tamil.

The assembly Speaker Chellapandian while speaking in a function at Ettayapuram stated that Kamaraj, the former chief Minister of the State and now the National President of Congress, already learnt English with his own efforts and was now learning Hindi through a teacher.[73] He and other Congressmen wanted the people not to hate a language. Learning one more language (Hindi or English) would definitely be helpful to the people. They were plain speaking and really interested in the welfare of all sections of the people.

We may go through the following question asked by one Murthy of Thuraiyur in Tiruchi District in a newspaper in connection with Hindi.[74] He

wanted to know why his constituency's D.M.K., M.L.A. Azhagamuthu who courted arrest in anti-Hindi agitation made arrangements for his daughter to learn Hindi through private tuition.[75] The newspaper replied that the bigwigs of D.M.K. always do like that and there is no surprise. Another person Sambu wanted know how the "Murasoli" was able to get advertisement from Insurance Companies when it was not given to other such news papers supporting Congress.[76] For this question it was answered that the Insurance companies where under the influence of the supporters of the Acharya (Rajaji) hence they supported D.M.K. organs and not Congress newspapers.[77]

Ma.Po.Si., earlier stated that the leaders of Tamilnadu were not acting according to their conscience and that they acted to gain political advantage for their political party and for themselves.[78] They misused the people of Tamilnadu and were unnecessarily giving trouble to the Central Government purely for political gains forgetting the welfare of the people.[79]

The Chief Minister Bakthavatchalam stated that observing Republic Day as Black Day amounts to treason. He also declared in the State Assembly that the government would not tolerate the observation of Republic Day as a day of mourning by the D.M.K. men.[80] The D.M.K.

leaders were arrested to prevent the Black Flag demonstrations on Republic Day.

The students, who were already motivated in this issue held anti-Hindi rallies, burnt the effigy of Hindi at several places. The students' processions were conducted continuously in the state. The disturbances spread and the agitators picketed post offices, erased Hindi name boards, set fire to buses and raided railway stations. [81] Army and Police opened fire at several places. According to the Government the number of persons dead were 70 while Private sources say it might be more than that number. Thousands were arrested and jailed.[82] The colleges and schools were closed.

The arrested D.M.K. men including Annadurai were released on February 1 and 2,1965 from prisons.[83] A bandh was organized on February 12,1965 in the state. Karunanithi was arrested under Defence Act for inducing the student to agitate. Lal Bhahadur Sastri the P.M. made an announcement that he would make statutory provisions for the continuance of English as long as any state wished and not to make Hindi the sole official language unless all states agreed.[84] This assurance made the agitations calm.

The assurance of the P.M. led to the withdrawal of the agitation in March, 1965. [85] Hence arrested persons including Karunanithi were

released in April 1965. However the indirect attack on the Government on this language issue continued. Sometimes some D.M.K. men were arrested for overreacting. C.P.Adhithamar was arrested in October 1965. The D.M.K. continue to consolidate the anti-Congress forces by raising language issue whenever possible. Surprisingly the by-election held at Dharmapuri for the Parliament held in 1965 went in favour of Congress despite the hard work done by the D.M.K.

FOOD CRISIS

The another, big problem the state faced towards the end of Congress rule in the middle of 60's was the scarcity of food grains especially rice. The continual failure of monsoons and the low rainfall aggravated the situation. The Government was not able to procure enough food grains and supply them through fair price shops or ration shops to the public. Shortage of food make, the people agitated. Private traders were hoarding and an artificial scarcity of food items was created and it was not effectively, prevented by the Government.

While the opposition especially the D.M.K. blamed the Congress Government as responsible for the scarcity, the Government on their part blamed the opposition for exaggerating the issue. People were at loss to understand the real reason for the food crisis. They didn't know where to go for their food supplies.[86] The agitation instigated by the opposition

parties continued. There was an agitation in front of a Police Station at Coimbatore and when the mob went unruly the police opened fire. A former police officer who was participating in the agitation was killed.[87]

The Chief Minister Bhakthavatchalam reaffirmed in the assembly that the present rice crisis in the State was not due to short supply but due to faulty distribution.[88] But the situation was not satisfactorily, controlled by the government and the opposition utilized the chance for their political growth in the state.

OTHER ISSUES

Another important event of Congress rule was "Srimavo Bhanderanaike – Lal Bhahadur Sastri Pact" signed by Sri Lanka and India on people of Indian Origin working in Sri Lanka.[89] Nearly 5 lakh people were to be sent to India in phased manner in the next 15 years. This sudden development affected the politics of Tamilnadu. Some people blamed the Congress for not showing any concern for the Tamils.

The Hindi agitation which affected the normal life of the public especially the educational institutions was a wide spread upheaval which was deep rooted. Every available tool was used to blame the Congress Government. The D.M.K., which spearheaded the anti Hindi agitation, used every opportunity to oppose the Government. In the Tamilnadu

assembly a no-confidence motion was moved by the D.M.K.'s V.R.Nedunchezhiyan and was supported by Sa.Ganesan of Swatantara Party M.Kalyana Sundaram of Communist Party and Sasivarna Devar of Forward Bloc.[90] The Speaker of the House withheld his consent in this issue.

The support of the Congress Government for the growth of Tamil continued without any second thoughts. On the Official Language Committee's recommendation Tamil was further introduced in the State Secretariat except for the Law and Finance department from May 1,1966 and training for the typists to use Tamil typewriter was also arranged.[91] Hence by now the entire state offices were almost Completely using the Tamil language for official use. However English was used by the departments to communicate with the center and other states for official purpose. Bhakthavatchalam, the C.M. attended the First World Tamil Conference at Kaula Lumpur in April 1966 to show his love for Tamil.

While the D.M.K. was promoting regional chauvinism, one of its leaders and cine actor M.G.Ramachandran stood aloof in this matter. During his foreign tour to Sri Lanka he spoke in favour of nationalism and condemned parochialism.[92] He stated that without a country there would not be neither a party nor a principle. He declared that he was Indian first and then only Tamilan, Malayalee etc.[93] He made an appeal to the people

there, to consider themselves as a Srilankan first and then only they should think in terms of language, race, religion etc. [94]

In the home front the D.M.K. now wanted to tarnish the image of Kamaraj and therefore increase their chance of winning in the election to be held in 1967. Kamaraj at that point of time was a highly respected national leader responsible for the smooth election of two Prime Ministers in 1964 after Nehru's death and in 1966 after Lal Bahadur Sastri's death. The whole world was praising him as King Maker. The DMK was criticizing him and called him a dictator like Hitler. [95] He was compared with Germany's dictator Hitler at a public meeting by the D.M.K. [96]

Those who were opposing Congress had come closer. The newly formed Thamizharasu Kazhagam of Ma.Po.Si, Rajaji (whose only aim was to destabilise Congress and Kamaraj) and his Swatntara Party, Kaite Millet Ismail and his Indian Union Muslim League tried to form an alliance with D.M.K. to defeat the Congress in the 1967 election. [97] The DMK invited them to attend their political conference held on December 31, 1966 at Virugambakkam, Madras. [98]

Now a very strong political alliance was formed to face 1967 election. D.M.K. Swatantara Party, Muslim League, Forward Bloc,

C.P.I.(M), Praja Socialist Party and the Thamizharasu Kazhagam joined in an alliance against the Congress party. [99]

Throughout 1966 the D.M.K. made elaborate arrangements to face the election of 1967 with a sole aim to defeat Congress in Tamilnadu. They conducted their party's General council meeting at Madras on January 30,1996 and conferences at Tiruchi, Thanjavur, Vathalakundu in the erstwhile Madurai District, Chengleput, Tirunelveli and again in Madras (the Fourth Gemeral conference from December 29, 1966 to January 1,1967).[100]

Water scarcity in major cities like, Madras, Coimbatore and Tiruchi were highlighted by D.M.K. Rajaji was determined to form the United Front to highlight the failures of the Congress and to defeat it in the election. The Congress wanted to improve its political image, especially on the language issue. A grand function was arranged for unveiling Thiruvalluvar's statue at Mylapore, Madras by the President of India, S.Radha Krishnan. Sanctioning of new heavy industries like Salem Steel Plant did not help them.

The D.M.K. made earnest efforts to collect huge election fund. Not satisfied with the amount collected in the State, its leader Karunanithi went

to Baombay and Ahamedabad and collected Rs.23,500 as election fund in 1966.[101] Money power played a crucial role in the election of 1967.

The D.M.K. Party released it election manifesto, promising everything to the people if elected to power. From the language issue they jumped into many other promises like price control, compulsory procurement of food grains, removing social equalism, Nationalisation of banks and buses, reducing the existing taxes, wage increase for labourers etc.[102]

Another notable event of the period was the Guru Pooja issue. After Muthuramalinga Thevar's death, his followers made arrangements to conduct Guru Pooja, at his birth place Pasumbon in October. The second Guru Pooja fell on October 30,1965 but the sub magistrate pronounced order u/s 144 of Cr.P.C. to stop this Guru Pooja.[103] The Forward Block member moved an adjournment motion but the Speaker did not allow it stating a court order could not be discussed.[104] The Opposition Parties like Swatantara and D.M.K. supported the Forward Bloc and all walked out of the Assembly on this issue.[105]

Under these circumstances the 1967 election was conducted. The D.M.K. with its United Front opposed Congress in all the 233 Consituencies. Kamaraj now wanted to come back to the State Assembly to give a lead to the Party and the Government and hence he contested

from Virudhunagar Constituency. He was opposed by, one Srinivasan a student leader and D.M.K. candidate. Annadurai the leader of D.M.K. strangely contested from South Madras Parliamentary Constituency and did not contest the Assembly Election. Hectic canvasing was done by, both the contesting parties. D.M.K. made tall claims, and blamed Congress for the crisis in the State. They personally attacked Kamaraj to the maximum level by alleging many things. Kamaraj, the only vote catcher made earnest attempts to meet people and explain the stand and achievements of the Congress, whereas D.M.K. had an affective campaign plan plus some alliance leaders like Rajaji. Their alliance with Swatantara party gave them a nationalistic image and Muslim League a secular image.

Unfortunately Kamaraj met with an accident during his election campaign and was hospitalized. There was nobody equivalent to his stature to continue the effective campaign. Bhathavatchalam, the C.M., was not effective in his Poll campaign and he was not able to attract the people. When the result was out it was a great surprise for D.M.K. and its alliance partners. It was a shock for the congress. The greatest shock was the defeat of Kamaraj in his home Constituency, Virudhunagar by a slender margin of votes. He polled 33, 421 votes against his rival's 32,136 votes.[104]

All the bigwigs of Congress including their ministers were defeated. The party was able to secure only 49 seats against the D.M.K's 138. The D.M.K. was able to win 25 Parliamentary seats.

The following was the party position in Tamilnadu assembly

D.M.K.	-	138
Congress	-	49
Swatantara	-	30
C.P.I.(M)	-	11
C.P.I.	-	2
Praja Socialist party	-	4
Samyakta " "	-	2
Muslim League	-	3
Independents	-	9
Total	-	233

In spite of Kamaraj's tour of the entire state (before the accident) the Congress could not change the mind of the people. D.M.K.'s plan to face the election with United Front, to highlight public issues like language issue, price rise, scarcity of food and their tall promises helped that party to win. The long innings of the Congress Rule came to an end. The Regional Party assumed power after forming the party in 1949. Nearly after 18

years of hard and sincere work with some political maneuver, paid them dividends.

The National Party and the National Leader lost power. Though Kamaraj accepted the defeat with dignity and congratulated the victor, D.M.K., his party men were not reconciled. Election of Kamaraj to the national level, good governance, did not pay dividends to the Congress. Infact the elevation of Kamaraj to the national level ended the Congress rule in Tamilnadu.

Let us see the real causes for the end of Congress rule and the emergence of D.M.K. as the new ruling party in the next and concluding chapter. The analysis of various factors would give us the actual reasons for the end of Congress rule in this state.

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CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

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The Congress Government during the first two decades of the second half of the twentieth century led the State of Tamilnadu towards overall development but slowly lost its political clout due to the growth of a regional party but also due to its own internal contradictions. The regional party D.M.K. advocated separatism in the early years of its inception and discarded that policy after the enactment of a law in 1963, to ban separatist Parties from contesting to the Assemblies and the Parliament .The nationalist Congress continued its age old policy of national integration in spite of temptation to change this policy to gain votes in the election. But ultimately the people of the state were carried away by the regional party's politics and the Congress lost its power in 1967.

Towards the end of the third term (1962-67) the Congress Government was forced to take certain hard decisions to maintain peace in the State .The Communication gap between the Government and the people, the in-effective functioning of the oranisational wings of the ruling Party, and the feeling of the people, due to various reasons, were instrumental in dislodging the Congress Government. Important reasons, like the language (Hindi) issue, shortage of food grains, ill-feeling against the government by certain section of the society for not supporting their

cause were also responsible for its debacle. Since the Government was run by an all India Party i.e. Congress, most of its policy decision were decided on all–India scale and that might have affected the feeling of some regions. One such feeling was the language issue. Though it was not fully implemented and the State Government had no idea to blindly follow the all India decision, the regional forces kindled the feeling of the people as if some danger was already there or going to be there and made the situation worse

Drifting away by some section of the society from the Congress ultimately contributed to the defeat of Congress in 1967 and the emergence of D.M.K. as the new ruling party in the State. No political party can last long unless it has continuous contact with the people and does something for their welfare. It is true that Congress had a great leader in Kamaraj but he was forced to serve the entire nation and not allowed to concentrate on Tamilnadu alone. The Congress Party's role immediately after the independence was really significant, yet it could not retain the support base of the people for a long time.

The actual decline began in 1957 when there were indications of the growth of the D.M.K. through the General Election. Within the next ten years the regional party grew into a new height and was able to defeat the

giant in the Indian politics, the Congress. The desire of the Congress to maintain integrity cost its political growth in the state. The party was not able to foresee the debacle when its leader Kamaraj was elevated to the national level politics .Its policy of integrity development were useful to the State but a great loss to the party. The invisible forces at play in politics caused the havoc to the party.

A. Gopanna in his Kamaraj Oru Sagaptham quoted an article by P.C. Ganesan entitled Dharman Thottruvittatha (Is Dharma defeated) written after Kamaraj's defeat in 1967 election. That was the feeling in Tamil Nadu and the result of this election was a surprise even to the D.M.K. (Its founder C.N. Annadurai contested for Parliament and not for Assembly, later he resigned his Parliament seat to become the Chief Minister) .In a felicitation letter for the newly started paper Congress Murasu, E.V.K. Sampath, a former frontline leader of the D.M.K. and now a Congress leader lamented that there is a need for more nationalistic approach minded news papers to strengthen national feeling and to spread it. Hence, the D.M.K. victory was considered as a victory of anti –national forces.

The former Congress Chief Minister of the State of Tamilnadu, M.Bahkthavatchalam said that people's preference for the D.M.K. to the

Congress can only be explained as their desire to give a chance to and try the D.M.K. It is not as if the people rejected one party (Congress) and chose another in its place. He said the defeat of Congress was not due to dissatisfaction of people with the achievements of the Congress. He compared it to the defeat of Churchill, who brought laurels to U.K in the Second World War; in the general election held after the termination of the war his party was defeated.

Hence, we cannot give one or two reasons for the decline of Congress and the growth of D.M.K. in Tamilnadu. There are lot of reasons for the political development in the State. On the eve of Independence T.Prakasam, a Telugu leader contested for the Chief Ministership against the wishes of Gandhiji and Kamaraj, the Tamilnadu Congress President who opposed him in order to respect Gandhiji's wishes and supported the candidature of Muthuranga Mudaliar. The Telugu- speaking members of the legislature, who were the followers of Kamaraj supported T.Prakasam against the Tamilnadu candidate. So a kind of opposition had started, to the leadership of Kamaraj and the Congress by the Telugu speaking people for not allowing their candidate to become the Chief Minister. Subsequently T.Prakasam left the Congress along with his supporters after one year in the Chief Ministership and became a leader of Praja Socialist Party.

As a result, other top leaders of Telugu origin, Tennati Viswanathan, N.G.Ranga etc also left the Congress and weakened it. Omanthur Ramasamy Reddiar who became the Chief Minister after T.Prakasam was also not happy with the Tamilnadu Congress leaders and kept himself aloof along with his Telugu supporters after the election of P.S.Kumarasami Raja as the next Chief Minister. This further weakened the Party.

When there was a demand for a separate Andhra State for the Telugus, it was opposed by the then Chief Minister Rajaji and Kamaraj, was also not for dividing the country on linguistic basis. But Swami Sitaraman, a veteran Congress leader undertook a fast for this purpose. Later, when Potti Sriramulu, a highly respected man of the Telugus, went on fasting for the creation of Andhra, the Government's response was not encouraging. The delayed decision to create Andhra cost the life of Potti Sriramulu. This delayed decision was viewed as an anti-Telugu activity of the Congress. There were, angry protest by the Telugu youths during the funeral procession of Potti Sririamutu against the Congress. Subsequent attempts to satisfy them did not yield any positive results. The Telugus developed hatred towards Congress and its Tamilnadu leaders. The issue was also, utilized by the anti-national forces and hence the Congress support base eroded. An English newsweekly Kataka published from Madras opined in 1962 that the formation of Andhra and separation of

Kannada speaking area and Malabar might be one of the reasons for D.M.K.'s success in recent (1962) elections. Now this compact territory was used by the D.M.K. to arouse the anti-national, pro-caste and language affinity among the people.

Rajaji's administrative decisions as the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, especially his new educational policy was opposed by the D.M.K. and by the Congress itself. He was forced to resign and that made him to go against the Congress. He formed his own Party called Swatantara party and his support to the D.M.K. in the 1957 elections and subsequent formation of an alliance after forming Swatantara party in 1959 with D.M.K was another reason for the weakening of the Congress and the growth of D.M.K. in Tamilnadu.

Ma.Po.Si's expulsion from the Congress on dual membership issue in 1954 and the death of Sankaralinga Nadar a Congressman who underwent a fasting programme for naming the state as Tamilnadu in 1956 were also went against the Congress. Ma.Po.Si. joined with the opposition to oppose the Congress by arousing the Tamil feeling among the people of Tamilnadu and Mr.Sankaralinga Nadar's death was utilized by D.M.K to raise the language issue and to a certain extent the communal feeling. The loss was for the Congress in the political arena.

When Rajaji was the Congress Chief Minister he formulated a new educational policy to help poor people to learn and earn. But it was twisted by D.M.K. for their political gain. A feeling was created that the Congress was a pro-Brahmin and anti-downtrodden party. The Congress though changed the Chief Minister and abandoned the new educational policy, they did not effectively propagate their ideology of pro-poor and the socialistic attitude (adopted in 1955 Avadi, Madras Conference). But the D.M.K. by criticizing the new educational policy and demanding social reforms gave a picture that they were the real reformists. Kamaraj's decision to include B.Parameswaran and P.Kakkan both Harijans, as the ministers in his cabinet was not properly appreciated.

The Congress had an excellent organisation even during 1930's which was not properly used for the growth of the party and to propagate their ideologies. When the state was reorganized in 1956 as per the Central Governments plan and Act, some Tamil Speaking areas like Pirmedu and Devikulam, Chittor were included in Kerala and Andhra. The people were given to understand by the opposition that the Congress was responsible for this state of affairs. It was a political setback for the Congress Party.

The greatest achievement of the Congress Government under Kamaraj as the Chief Minister was a highly industrialized State. Their

effort to provide basic education to people in every village with free uniforms, books, mid-day meals and the fee waiver, hostel facilities for the poor Harijans and backward people were not fully realized by the public. They were carried away by the emotional speeches and false promises of the D.M.K. Party.

Introduction of Tamil as the official language in the state, providing facilities in Government offices to develop Tamil Language for official purposes, honouring Tamil Scholars (Namakkal Kavignar was nominated as the member of the Upper House), unveiling the statue of Thiruvalluvar at Madras and also installation of his portrait in the Assembly etc., did not help the Congress. Introduction of Tamil medium in colleges, publication of high standard Tamil Texts etc. also didn't help the Congress. The D.M.K. always posed that they were the real champions of the Tamil Language. This was not countered properly by, the Congress and the Government. This was a loss for the Congress in the general elections.

In the Muthugulathur Communal clash between the Thevars and the Harijans, the Congress Party and its Government became a victim. The Thevar Community people were under the impression that the Government was helping the Harijans against their interests. The Congress

Government's decision to file a murder case against their leader Muthuramalinga Thevar made them to go against the Congress. Even after the death of Muthuramalinga Thevar the Government was blamed for banning the annual Guru Pooja in the guise of maintaining people in the locality. Both these issues were raised in the Assembly by the Forward Bloc Members and others accusing the Congress and Kamaraj. These things made the Congress a political enemy and benefit went in favour of the opposition party D.M.K., which also opposes the Congress in the general elections.

The anti-Hindi agitation instigated by the D.M.K. and others during early 1960's was not properly handled by the Congress Government. Instead of eliminating the fear, if at all, in the minds of the innocent public and the students, the Congress Government strictly followed the rules and norms and tried to suppress the agitation against the imposition of Hindi Language. The Constitutional obligation was misunderstood by the people or they were carried away by the emotional speeches of the opposition. The Congress did not give prior attention to this issue. The closure of educational institutions and shoot outs resulting in deaths etc., made the parents go against the Congress. The students, out of overenthusiasm supported the opposition alliance headed by D.M.K. without realizing the consequences.

The gulf between the Congress organization and the people helped the opposition to move closer to the people. The distance kept by the Congress with the people went against it in the general elections and made D.M.K. the victorious party. Rajaji's alliance with them gave them a good image. The open declaration by the D.M.K. not to support separatism in future also helped them.

The food scarcity in the state around 1967-election time and mismanagement of this problem by the Congress Government made the people angry against the Congress. The false promises made by the D.M.K. to solve this problem, (Moonru Padi Arisi for one Rupee) attracted people. Their other tall promises also helped them to gain more support against the Congress.

The Socialism adopted by the Congress made the industrialists and landlords to go against the party to save their interests. It seems top industrialists pumped lot of money to defeat Congress for their benefit.

Due to all these reasons the people wanted to try a new Government and that chance was given to the D.M.K. in 1967. The people developed the tendency to get frustrated, when their wishes were not fulfilled and supported forces competing with the Congress in the elections. The

organizational weakness of the Congress in the state was taken full advantage of by the D.M.K.

All these factors did contribute to the defeat of Congress and the growth of the regional party, the D.M.K. in the 1967 election.

GLOSSARY

Anaicut	-	Dam
Arasiyal	-	Politics
Aru	-	River
Desiya	-	National
Kazhzgam	-	Party
Kulakalvi Thittam	-	Caste Based Education
Lok Sabha	-	Lower House of the Indian Parliament
Makkalatchi	-	Democracy
Nadu	-	A Separate Country
Porattam	-	Struggle
Rajya Sabha	-	Upper House of the Indian Parliament
Savalgal	-	Challenges
Urimai	-	Right
Varalaru	-	History
Viduthalai	-	Freedom

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